



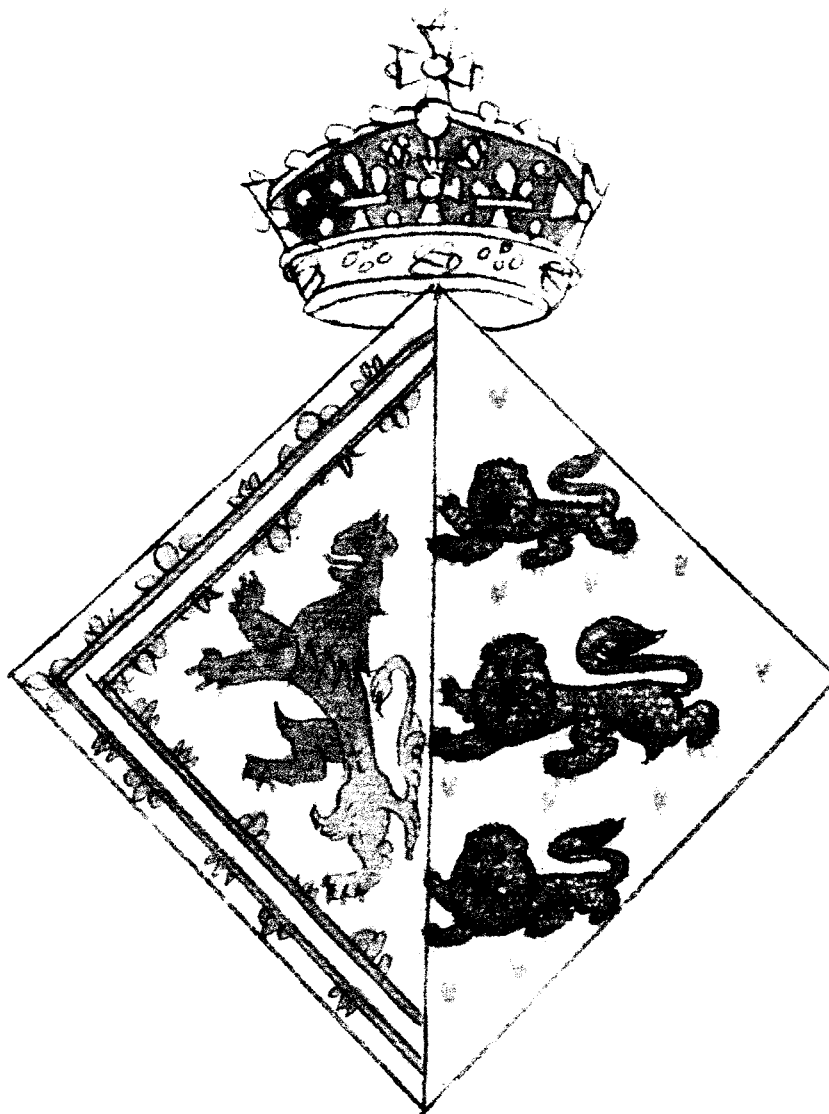
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JVHALA, A.D. 2000



The Household and Court of King James VI of Scotland, 1567-1603

Amy L. Juhala



King James the sixth married Anne daughter to
Frederick King of Denmark and hath issue by her
George Frederick the prince with other children.

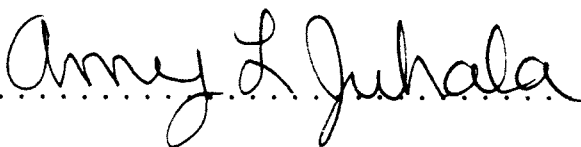


Ph.D.
University of Edinburgh
2000



Declaration

I hereby certify that this thesis is of my own composition and as a result of my own work, and that no part of this thesis has been published in its present form.

Signed.....

Bismarck, North Dakota, USA
June 2000

Abstract

This thesis examines the household and court of King James VI from the household establishment of his infancy until his departure for London in 1603 and the resulting end of a court culture in Scotland. It depends substantially on manuscript material, in particular the treasurer's accounts and royal household accounts, which previously for this period have not been examined exhaustively. Chapter One provides an introduction to Scottish courts in the sixteenth century and contemporary European courts, presenting a context in which to place James VI's household and court. Chapter Two describes the royal household from its creation in 1567 at the coronation of the king through successive regencies, the beginning of James's personal rule, his marriage in 1589 to Anna of Denmark and the subsequent creation of her household and those of the royal children. A complete list of household offices and the people who served in them underlies the entire chapter. Furthermore, the importance of several courtiers, namely the king's childhood schoolmates, his Stewart relations and lifetime domestic servitors, contributes to the understanding of politics and factionalism within the household. Chapter Three focuses on the perceived image of the court including its choice of venue, such as the Palace of Holyroodhouse or Stirling Castle, conspicuous consumption of clothing and jewellery, and royal artistic patronage. The royal itinerary and frequency in which the king, queen and court moved from one location to another acquaint the reader with the semi-peripatetic nature of a Scottish renaissance court not to mention James's love of the hunt. Further elements in the representation of court style were the ceremonial occasions celebrated by the court, such as royal entries, coronations, baptisms and entertainment of visiting ambassadors. Chapter Four focuses on the relations between the royal court and town of Edinburgh, Scotland's capital. The growth of the town, in size and influence, as well as the increasingly close connections between merchants, burgesses, councilmen and the royal court help to explain the expanding role accepted by the town in relation to financial support of court activities and the physical provision of a royal guard. Chapter Five synthesizes the above factors to establish a comprehensive view of the court.

(98,000 words)

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Abbreviations and Conventions

The following is a list of abbreviations of libraries, depositories, collections and titles of works commonly referred to in this thesis. The latter generally follow the styles recommended in ‘List of abbreviated titles of the printed sources of Scottish history to 1560’, *SHR*, xlii (1963). Due to the extensive use of manuscript sources in this thesis, several abbreviations and their descriptions (including locations of manuscripts) have been included.

ACC	Accessions (NLS)
Adv. MS	Advocates’ MS (NLS)
Anderson, <i>History</i>	Patrick Anderson’s <i>History of Scotland</i> , volume ii, Adv. MS 35.5.3
APS	<i>The Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland</i> , eds. T. Thomson & C. Innes, 12 vols (Edinburgh, 1814-75)
B.	Burgh MSS, Protocol Books (NAS)
Bann. Club	Bannatyne Club, Edinburgh
Birrell, ‘Diary’	‘Diary of Robert Birrell, burghess of Edinburgh, 1542-1605’, Adv. MS 28.3.12
Bowes, <i>Correspondence</i>	Robert Bowes, <i>The Correspondence of Robert Bowes, of Aske, esquire, The ambassador of Queen Elizabeth in the Court of Scotland</i> , ed. J. Stevenson (Surtees Society, Edinburgh, 1842)
Burel, ‘Poems’	John Burel, Poems, 1595/96, NLS F.6.b.7 (3)
Calderwood	David Calderwood, <i>The History of the Kirk of Scotland</i> , 8 vols (Wodrow Society, 1842-49)
CSP Scot.	<i>Calendar of State Papers relating to Scotland and Mary, Queen of Scots, 1547-1603</i> , eds. J. Bain <i>et al.</i> , 13 vols (Edinburgh, 1898-1969)
Coronations	Descriptions of European Coronations: Adv. MS 33.2.26
DNB	<i>Dictionary of National Biography</i> (1885-).
Dundas Papers	Family Papers of the Dundases of Dundas, Adv. MS 80.1.1
E.	Exchequer MSS (NAS)
ECA	Edinburgh City Archives
<i>Edinburgh Charters</i>	<i>Charters and Other Documents Relating to the City of Edinburgh A.D. 1143-1540</i> (Scottish Burgh Records Society, Edinburgh, 1871)
Edin. Min.	Edinburgh Council Minutes, MSS volumes 5-11, 1573-1609 (ECA)
Edin. TA	Edinburgh Council Treasurers’ Accounts, MSS volumes 1 & 2, 1581-1612 (ECA)
<i>Edin. Recs.</i>	<i>Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Edinburgh, 1403-1589</i> , ed. J.D. Marwick, 5 vols (SBRS, 1869-92); and <i>1589-1665</i> , ed. M. Wood, 5 vols (Edinburgh, 1927-1940)

ER	<i>The Exchequer Rolls of Scotland</i> , eds. J. Stuart <i>et al.</i> (Edinburgh, 1878-1908)
Fowler, 'True Reportarie'	William Fowler, 'A True Reportarie of the Royal Accomplishment of the Baptisme of Frederik Henry, Prince of Scotland, the 30 day of August 1594' (R Waldegrave, Edinburgh, 1594) (NLS)
GD.	Gifts and Deposits, assorted MSS (NAS)
Heriot Accounts	Jewellery Accounts of George Heriot, volume iii, GD.421/1/3
IR	<i>The Innes Review</i> , Glasgow
James VI, <i>Basilicon Doron</i>	James VI, <i>Basilicon Doron</i> , 2 vols., ed. J. Craigie (STS, 1944-50)
Johnston, <i>History</i>	Johnston's <i>History of Scotland</i> , volume ii, Adv. MS 35.4.2
'Joyfull receiving'	'The Joyfull receiving of James the sixt of that name King of Scotland, and Queene Anne his wife, into the Townes of Lyeth and Edenborough', NLS Mf.34 (8[6])
Maitland Club	Maitland Club, Edinburgh & Glasgow
MW	<i>Accounts of the Masters of Works for Repairing Royal Palaces and Castles</i> , eds. H.M. Paton <i>et al.</i> , 2 vols (Edinburgh, 1957-)
Melville, <i>Diary</i>	<i>The Diary of Mr James Melvill, 1556-1601</i> (Bann. Club, 1829)
Melville, <i>Memoirs</i>	<i>The Memoirs of Sir James Melvil of Halhill</i> , ed. G. Scott (Glasgow, 1751) (NLS)
Moryson, <i>Itinerary</i>	<i>An Itinerary...Containing His Ten Yeeres Travell Through the Twelve Dominions of Germany, Bohmerland, Sweitzerland, Netherland, Denmarke, Poland, Italy, Turkey, France, England, Scotland, and Ireland</i> (London, 1617) (NLS)
Moysie, <i>Memoirs</i>	David Moysie, <i>Memoirs of the Affairs of Scotland, 1577-1603</i> , ed. J. Dennistoun (Maitland Club, 1830)
NAS	National Archives of Scotland, Edinburgh (formerly the Scottish Record Office)
NLS	National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh
<i>Papers Relative to Marriage</i>	<i>Papers Relative to the Marriage of King James the Sixth of Scotland with the Princess Anna of Denmark; A.D. MDLXXXIX And the Form and Manner of Her Majesty's Coronation at Holyroodhouse; A.D. MDXC</i> , ed. J.T. Gibson Craig (Bann. Club, 1828)
PS.	Old Series Privy Seal MSS (NAS)
RMS	<i>Registrum Magni Sigilli Regum Scotorum</i> , eds. J.M. Thomson <i>et al.</i> , 12 vols (Edinburgh, 1882-1912)
RPC	<i>Register of the Privy Council of Scotland</i> , eds. J.H. Burton <i>et al.</i> , 14 vols (Edinburgh, 1877-)
RSS	<i>Registrum Secreti Sigilli Regum Scotorum</i> , eds. M. Livingstone <i>et al.</i> , 8 vols (Edinburgh, 1908-)
SP	<i>The Scots Peerage</i> , ed. Sir J. Balfour Paul, 9 vols (Edinburgh, 1904-14)

<i>SHR</i>	<i>Scottish Historical Review</i> , Edinburgh and Aberdeen.
SHS	Scottish Historical Society, Edinburgh
SHS <i>Misc.</i>	<i>Miscellany of the Scottish History Society</i> , 11 vols (1893-)
STS	Scottish Text Society
<i>TA</i>	<i>Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland</i> , eds. T. Dickson and Sir J. Balfour Paul, 13 vols (Edinburgh, 1877-1916)

Personal and place names have been modernized, for the most part, in the text and appendices according to the *BT Phone Book: Edinburgh and Lothians*, *The Scots Peerage*, and the *AA Big Road Atlas Britain*.

All currency is given in pounds Scots, unless otherwise noted. The continual devaluation of the Scottish pound during the course of the reign makes it impossible to give one set exchange rate with pounds sterling and French crowns. Exchange rates, or equivalent amounts, are given within the text whenever possible.

Numbers are written out to 10 (with the exceptions of centuries and titles).

The year is taken to begin on 1 January.

Tun = equivalent to 216 gallons of ale, or 252 of wine.¹

Chalder = an old Scottish dry measure, containing 16 bolls.²

Ell = a cloth measure equal to 1¼ yard.³

¹ *The Chambers Dictionary* (Edinburgh, 1998), 1787.

² *Chambers*, 27.

³ *Chambers*, 522.

Chapter 1: Introduction and Background

*Nou callit Scotland, as we haif hard report
Of wandring fame vhillk fleeth ay athort
Quhair presently beginneth for to ring
So sapient a ðing and godly King.
A Salomon for richt and judgement.
In every langage he is Eloquent.
All lands about do beir of him record.
He is the chosen vessell of the Lord.¹*

Alexander Montgomerie's poem, *The Navigatioun*, is a fitting introduction to the personal reign of James VI. The poem likely dates from 1581 or 1582, around which time the teenaged king had begun to accept a more active role in the governing of his country, an activity which had been controlled by regents and councillors for the past 14 years. As James became more involved in the governing of his country, so too did he involve himself more in the activities of his recently established court. Not long after the poem was written, the king was the victim of a successful coup attempt, the Ruthven raid of August 1582. The coup may have set young James's hopes of self-government back a bit, but it did little to slow the expansion of the court.

It is James VI's household and royal court that are the focus here. Within the confines of the court, the king worked, played and generally socialised with members of his government, the nobility and aristocracy, and foreign dignitaries. The court was the means of displaying the best the country had to offer, while the royal household was the machine that kept it all running smoothly. The kitchens had to be stocked to feed king, courtiers and household officers, the stables and hunting establishment had to be tended, royal buildings had to be overseen and repaired, and people needed to ensure the king was outfitted, that the fires in his chamber were lit, and that the chamber itself was cleaned and well-furnished. These, and many more activities like them, were covered by the household. Furthermore, the household provided some of the most influential offices in the kingdom: great chamberlain, vice-chamberlain, master of the wardrobe, captain of the king's guard, and gentlemen in the chamber. Due to their constant, close contact with the king, and their ability to influence his decisions and actions, many of these men became highly influential in

¹ Alexander Montgomerie: *The Navigatioun*, in D.J. Parkinson, *Alexander Montgomerie's Poems* (Scottish Text Society, forthcoming).

their own rights. Financing of the court and household was always a concern, and Scotland's coffers in the latter part of the sixteenth century were not plentiful. New sources of funds needed to be discovered, and were. One source of additional money was through Queen Anna's dowry and another was through the assistance of Scotland's capital, Edinburgh.

James himself had distinct ideas on how his court and household should be arranged and governed. He considered that there were two important points to follow in regards to the court and household: firstly, to choose them wisely, and secondly, to carefully govern those whom you have chosen. Young lords and other children of good families were to be employed in positions such as pages while older servitors should be men of wisdom and discretion, and that every man be employed according to his gifts.² Unfortunately, extant household documents for this period are not as plentiful in Scotland as in England, and rarely do they mention the duties associated with the various positions.³

Before commencing with a study of James VI's reign and court, it is helpful to understand a general history of the courts of Renaissance Europe and the situation in sixteenth-century Scotland. By focusing on the formation of the household, the prevalence of factions, and patronage of the arts, it can be shown that although the courts differed in many ways, they all had the same dual purpose: for the monarch, an avenue to advance his or her propaganda; and for the courtier, a means of gaining the favour of the monarch.

There were striking similarities in the organisation of the king's, or duke's, household. In Burgundy, France and England, for instance, the highest court office was that of first chamberlain, *grand maître*, and lord great chamberlain, respectively. All were in complete charge of the household and held keys to the chamber, thus regulating who was granted an audience and who was not. Royal chambers were modelled along similar lines, although France and Scotland preferred a more informal approach, whilst England and Spain opted for formal establishments. Francis I began his reign by renaming the noblemen in his chamber from *valets de chambre* to *gentilshommes de la chambre*, thus allowing commoners to serve as *valets*. The

² James VI, *Basilicon Doron*, I, 104-16.

³ Only three household books from James VI's reign exist, and those deal only with the late-1590s. Several household documents, such as the treasurer's accounts, give names of servitors with fee and livery payments, but rarely anything more descriptive.

gentilshommes were the king's constant companions, were often employed on state business, and were among the most active courtiers. Henry VIII adopted this idea by creating the gentlemen of the privy chamber; an office originally held by the king's 'minions' before men of importance and ambition replaced the young favourites. Henry's gentlemen of the privy chamber were created, partially, because a goodwill exchange of courtiers between France and England required corresponding offices. The accession of Elizabeth greatly altered the situation. With Elizabeth's ladies, many of them cousins, filling her chamber, the chamber became politically neutralised, although the ladies did promote the suits of individual courtiers.⁴

Factionalism was a pervading theme of court life. The primary force behind factionalism was the ubiquitous and unavoidable use of personal influence, in the form of patronage, by courtiers. A patron could enhance his own standing and reputation by promoting his clients although the ultimate goal was to be in a position to influence the monarch. The battleground of patronage, and politics, was the court where survival depended upon retaining royal favour, occasionally in the face of immense competition. To fall out of favour made a courtier vulnerable to devious acts undertaken by rival factions. More often than not it was the leading courtiers, and even royal mistresses, who were the focus of various factions, all with the intent to wrest royal influence away from their enemies.

The court of Henry VIII was a prime example of the presence of factions and their frequently tragic ends. Henry was the ultimate source of power, making and breaking wives, councillors and factions along the way, although the king was influenced, and even manipulated, by the prevailing balance at court.⁵ It has been suggested that Henry's privy chamber, staffed by the king's boon companions, became a 'cockpit of faction' and the prime source of pressure on the king, when during the reign of Henry VII it had acted as a barrier from pressure and faction.⁶

⁴ P. Wright, 'A Change in Direction: the ramifications of a female household, 1558-1603', in D. Starkey (ed.) *The English Court* (London, 1987), 159. See also D. Starkey, 'Court, Council, and Nobility in Tudor England', in R.G. Asch and A.M. Birke (eds.), *Princes, Patronage and the Nobility: The Court at the Beginning of the Modern Age, c.1450-1650* (Oxford, 1991), 175-203; D. Starkey, 'From Feud to Faction: English Politics c.1450-1550', *History Today*, xxxii (1982), 16-22; D. Starkey, 'Intimacy and innovation: the rise of the Privy Chamber, 1485-1547', in Starkey, *English Court*, 71-118.

⁵ J. Guy, *Tudor England* (Oxford, 1988), 83.

⁶ Starkey, 'Feud to Faction', 18.

As is the nature of minorities, the reign of Edward VI was rife with factionalism. Edward's Seymour uncles, the duke of Somerset and Thomas Seymour, fought over control of their nephew, and his kingdom, which resulted in his guardianship passing to the duke of Northumberland. Northumberland revived the court and privy chamber as the focus for government and politics, albeit with a decided more religious leaning, as occurred during the reign of Edward's elder sister, Mary. Elizabeth, on the other hand, seemed to enjoy factionalism. She accepted and exploited factions and was determined to have 'many servants to whom I bequeath my favour'.⁷ As Elizabeth's ladies of the privy chamber were not directly involved with politics, factional struggle centred instead on the social life of the courtiers and ladies admitted to the privy chamber, rather than those holding formal appointments.⁸ France was not without its share of factionalism. Most factional action occurred later in the century with the Guises and Bourbons, although Francis I's reign was not immune to it.⁹ Catherine de Medici dislodged the Guises from court following the death of Francis II, although they regained their dominance at the court of Henri III.

Court patronage was important from a cultural standpoint as well as a political one, encompassing areas such as art, music, architecture and literature. Courtiers were often wealthy connoisseurs and potential patrons of the arts. Artistic accomplishments by courtiers were undoubtedly the results of a comment by Baldassare Castiglione who stated in *The Courtier* that the ruler's favour could be more easily won by appealing to his pleasurable instincts.¹⁰ Castiglione's perfect courtier had a solid education in Greek and Latin, possessed a good literary style, and was proficient in music and painting. Indeed, not only did Burgundian dukes and courtiers commission romances of chivalry inspired by actual court events but they also wrote some of the most famous and informative fifteenth-century chronicles.¹¹

⁷ W. Ives, *Faction in Tudor England* (London, 1979), 22.

⁸ Ives, *Faction*, 12.

⁹ Catherine de Medici dislodged the Guises from court following the death of Francis II, although they regained their dominance at the court of Henri III. For more information on factionalism in France see R.J. Knecht, *French Renaissance Monarchy: Francis I and Henry II* (London, 1991); F. Baumgartner, *Henry II: King of France, 1547-1559* (Duke, 1988); N.M. Sutherland, *The French Secretaries of State in the Age of Catherine de Medici* (London, 1962).

¹⁰ D. Javitch, 'Il Cortegiano and the Constraints of Despotism', in R. Hanning and D. Rosand (eds.), *Castiglione: The Ideal and the Real in Renaissance Culture* (Yale, 1983), 22.

¹¹ R. Vaughan, *Valois Burgundy* (London, 1975), 163. The importance of artists and craftsmen within the court was clear through their appointments to the court post of *valet de chambre*.

Often artistic patronage was a result of court spectacles such as royal entries, tournaments and court fêtes. The royal entry was perhaps the highest form of royal propaganda, upholding the exalted position of the monarchy and the splendour of the king and his court while enhancing the status of the cities. It was unique in providing an opportunity for a large number of the king's subjects to view him. It was also a prime opportunity to introduce new artistic themes to the court and kingdom. A royal entry showed the talents of artists and architects to the leading patrons of the realm and worked to set the tone for the cultural style of the reign.¹²

Court fêtes became one of the most popular means of celebrating monarchs in the sixteenth century. Originating from the Burgundian *entremêts*, fêtes evolved in France and England into the *ballet de cour* and the court masque, respectively. A goal of the court fête was to display the monarch as a figure of magnificence and power. It has been suggested that the fundamental objective of the Renaissance court fête, in relation to the prince, was power conceived as art.¹³ This allowed the ruler and court to assimilate themselves, momentarily, to their heroic exemplars, through the theme of the ruler as the deliverer and often investing him or her with apparently supernatural powers to banish magic and defeat the forces of evil by the inherent strength of their royal virtues.¹⁴

Artistic patronage by king and court varied greatly. France was quite active in patronage of the arts throughout the sixteenth century. Francis I employed several of the leading artists of the day and gathered a unique collection that is now the nucleus of the Louvre collection.¹⁵ Although Henri II was not overly fond of building,¹⁶ he did work to complete construction on several royal châteaux planned by his father, while his mistress, Diane de Poitiers, beautified Anet and Chenonceaux and was a generous patron of art and literature.¹⁷ Portraiture was the most constant source of court patronage in England, especially with the presence of Henry's court painter, Hans Holbein who so perfectly documented both appearance and character. The most important result of court patronage during Elizabeth's reign was the formation of

¹² For more on entries see: R. Strong, *Splendour at Court: Renaissance Spectacle and Illusion* (London, 1973) and Baumgartner, *Henry II*.

¹³ Strong, *Splendour at Court*, 76.

¹⁴ Strong, *Splendour at Court*, 110.

¹⁵ R.J. Knecht, 'The Court of Francis I', *European Studies Review*, viii (1978), 17.

¹⁶ Henry II preferred theatre, music and dancing to architecture and painting.

¹⁷ Furthermore, Catherine de Medici planned the Tuilleries and Henry IV completed or added to old buildings.

professional companies of actors, the most important of which were patronised by courtiers. Plays, such as those by Shakespeare and Marlow, often contained a propagandist message and could be spread throughout the country by travelling troupes.

The courts of sixteenth-century Scotland are not as easily defined as those of their European counterparts. One reason for this is the nature and number of minorities: James IV, James V, Mary and James VI. Minorities required regency governments which were frequently unstable and susceptible to factional struggles. Another reason is that studies on the Scottish courts lack the abundance of those on contemporary European courts.¹⁸ It has been suggested that society in early modern Scotland lived at a local level and congregated at a political centre, occupied by a royal court. Thus the court was the centre of political life, where major policy decisions were made and wealth and influence could be acquired or lost. Reasons for attendance at court varied greatly although the pursuit and protection of power were the most common. Consequently, competition was extremely intense, not only due to high stakes, but also because local alliances and feuds were injected into court politics.¹⁹

The Scottish court was similar in many respects to its French and English neighbours. Primarily, it was used as an instrument of monarchical authority: the king influenced his nobles through the use of tournaments, expenditure, culture and patronage. It has been noted that James IV and James V followed the example of their contemporaries in building up their courts as places of formality and elegance, centres of culture and political life, as a means of displaying the impressiveness of the country to subjects at home and visitors from abroad.²⁰ Further, it has been suggested that the royal Renaissance of the sixteenth century was a weapon of diplomacy, a reflection of the glory of the monarchy, which guaranteed that the focus of Scottish culture lay firmly within the court.²¹

¹⁸ A thorough study of James V's court has been completed recently by Andrea Thomas: A. Thomas, 'Renaissance Culture at the Court of James V, 1528-1542' (Ph.D., Edinburgh, 1997) Publication forthcoming by Tuckwell Press.

¹⁹ K. Brown, *Bloodfeud in Scotland, 1573-1625* (Edinburgh, 1986), 108.

²⁰ J. Wormald, *Court, Kirk and Community: Scotland 1470-1625* (Edinburgh, 1981), 18.

²¹ M. Lynch, 'The Age of Renaissance and Reformation', in R. Mitchison (ed.), *Why Scottish History Matters* (Saltire Society, 1991), 33.

Perhaps the major difference between European and Scottish courts can be found in the peripatetic nature of the latter, as by the sixteenth century most European courts had settled with fixed locations and the few progresses that occurred were extremely well organised. Scotland's monarchs divided their time between Edinburgh Castle, the Palace of Holyroodhouse, Stirling Castle, Linlithgow Palace and Falkland Palace, to name only the most frequently used royal residences. James V made royal progresses up and down the country. Mary spent two-thirds of the first nine months of 1565 on progress, and James VI was in the countryside, hunting, whenever possible.

The Scottish royal households were set up very much along the lines of their European counterparts, albeit on a significantly smaller scale. Mary's household was interesting in that it was decidedly European rather than distinctly Scottish in composition. The queen's four Maries²² had been with her in France and all had some sort of French connection through their mothers or stepmothers. She filled her court offices such as *valets de chambre*, secretary, master household and war 'argenter' with Frenchmen and other foreign nationals.²³

Factionalism was one of the pervading themes of court life in Renaissance Scotland, especially due to a preponderance of minority regimes; Scotland saw nearly as many years of minority as majority rule between 1406 and 1585. Minorities also affected expenditure and revenue, not through upkeep of a large or lavish household for an infant king who did not need it, but rather as a result of land and money granted in an attempt to buy support for the regents.

A revival of chivalry and the cult of honour was a pervading theme throughout sixteenth-century Scotland and the court was the natural focal point. Chivalry was at the heart of James IV's court and evident when the king took part in 'tryumphand torneyis, justyng, and knyghtly game'.²⁴ James IV staged a number of tournaments: one in January 1496 to celebrate the marriage of Perkin Warbeck to Lady Catherine Gordon;²⁵ a three-day tournament including pageants, banquets, bonfires, jousting, acrobatics and dancing for his own marriage in 1503 to Margaret Tudor; the

²² Mary Beaton, Mary Seton, Mary Fleming & Mary Livingston.

²³ G. Donaldson, *All the Queen's Men: Power and Politics in Mary Stewart's Scotland* (London, 1983), 58-60, 66.

²⁴ N. Macdougall, *James IV* (Edinburgh, 1989), 294.

²⁵ Warbeck was the Yorkist pretender to the English crown, and Lady Catherine was the daughter of the 2nd earl of Huntly.

Tournament of the White Knight and the Black Lady at Holyrood in 1507; and a repeat of that tournament the following year. Re-enactment of scenes from Arthurian romance was popular, and sometimes jousts and combat were undertaken in the guise of traditional chivalric adventures.²⁶ The most elaborate political extravaganza in Renaissance Scotland was the three-day celebration, designed to convey an image of the power and stability of the Stewart monarchy, for the baptism of Mary's heir, Charles James (James VI), at Stirling on 17 December 1566. This baptism, modelled on an elaborate fête at Bayonne in 1565, was the first full-scale Renaissance fête which Great Britain had ever seen.²⁷

Literary patronage was important throughout the Renaissance.²⁸ It has been suggested that poetry was a useful means of reinforcing one's position at court, that the narrator was courtier and poet, participant and observer. Furthermore, court poetry was a vehicle for the discussion of factional politics and at times an endorsement of one particular position.²⁹ The most distinguished poets of the sixteenth century were invariably clients of court. Poetry and music tended to English and Continental influences as most poets and musicians either were foreign or had attended university in France, Italy or Holland. It should also be noted that Scottish monarchs and their courts could often converse in at least six languages, making it a welcome place for foreign scholars and artists.

The general background on sixteenth-century European courts helps to set the stage for the household and court of James VI. In many respects Scotland was viewed as a poor, country cousin by its European contemporaries, albeit a cousin with an impressive pedigree. However, as will be seen, James VI and his councillors made great strides to advance the image of Scotland on an international scale and to reclaim a prominent court position within Scotland after years of regencies.

²⁶ C. Edington, 'Sir David Lindsay of the Mount: Political and Religious Culture in Renaissance Scotland' (Ph.D., St. Andrews, 1991), 211, 215; C. Edington, *Court and Culture in Renaissance Scotland: Sir David Lindsay of the Mount* (East Linton, 1994), 102-04.

²⁷ M. Lynch, *Scotland: A New History* (London, 1992), 160; see also M. Lynch, 'Queen Mary's Triumph: the Baptismal Celebrations at Stirling in December 1566', *SHR*, lxix (1990), 1-21.

²⁸ Architectural and portraiture patronage were also important but are discussed in greater depth in Chapter 3.

²⁹ Edington, 'Sir David Lindsay', 196, 208.

Chapter 2: The Royal Household

Household 1567-1589

Although neither as large nor as elaborate as those of his contemporaries, James VI did retain a household of some distinction, however late in development it may have been. His household, just as those in Europe, was divided into departments, albeit on a greatly reduced scale. The primary dissimilarity from other European courts was the lack of a formal household establishment (i.e. a lord chamberlain and gentlemen of the chamber) during most of the king's minority. It was not until after the arrival of Esmé Stewart in 1579 that steps were taken to rectify this omission. Apart from continental influences, his household also seems to have developed much along the lines of that of his grandfather, which was described in August 1522 as follows: 'There sall be with the Kings Grace ane Master of Household, ane coppar, ane carver, pantreman, verlotts of his chalmer, ane prest to say him mess, his ushar, cuke, clerk of the expenss'.¹ Similarities to both his mother's and grandfather's courts, as well as those of France, are not surprising as both James V and Mary had close ties to France and thus would themselves have adopted characteristics of the French court.

As with all members of a royal family, James had been installed with a household of his own as an infant, and it was there, at Stirling Castle, under the guardianship of the earl and countess of Mar, that he was kept for most of his childhood. That most of his early retainers remained with him throughout his minority, and many throughout his majority rule in Scotland as well, shows a definite sense of loyalty among the servants closest to the king, as well as providing, in some respects, a stable base for the young king, especially at a time when the political situation was far from stable.

It is through the organisation of the basic areas of the king's household, such as the pantry, kitchen and chamber, that the most distinct ties to European household arrangements can be drawn. Charles the Bold's Burgundian household in 1474 consisted of four main departments, offices or 'estates': the *paneterie* (bread pantry), *échansonnerie* (wine pantry), *cuisine* (kitchen), and *écurie* (stable), each staffed by 50

¹ Edington, *Court and Culture*, 17.

squires and supervised by the *premier écuyer*, as well as two minor court offices of the *fruiterie* (spices, candles, fruit) and *fourrière* (lodgings and furnishings).²

France's Francis I was not to be outdone, having 60 different categories of household offices as well as four special departments of his own: an *argenterie* (clothes, furniture and other necessities), *écurie*, *vénérerie* and *fauconnerie* (organising royal hunts), and an elaborate military establishment.³

Infant household, 1567

The young king's household provides a picture of a skeletal royal staff who provided only what was necessary for his daily comforts. Formal provisions had been made for the young king's household at the time of his coronation as king of Scotland on 2 July 1567. This establishment was headed by the earl and countess of Mar as the king's guardian and provider of the king's physical wants, respectively, as well as necessary household servants. A detailed account can be found in a document dated 10 March 1568 at Stirling:⁴ a pantry man, a four-man kitchen staff, a keeper of the vessels, one man in the wine cellar, two men in the ale cellar, a laundress, a coalman, and a pastry chef. Upper management positions of the household were held by John Cunningham,⁵ master household, and Andrew Haig, steward, each assisted by one servant.

Royal household administration was in the hands of the king's master household, clerk of the household and the pursemaster, or argenter. These positions covered the general management of the household staff, ensured that the household ran smoothly, and that money was provided for all necessary provisions. Although it is unclear when Alexander Durham first took office, he appears to have held the position of pursemaster. Accounts described him as a provider to the king's and regent's households in 1572 and only later in June 1580, when partially demitting his office into the hands of his son, James Durham, as the king's argenter and

² Vaughan, *Valois Burgundy*, 97.

³ Knecht, 'Court of Francis I', 2.

⁴ GD.124/10/25. This document was drawn up several months after his coronation.

⁵ Cunningham of Drumquhassell, Regent Moray's cousin. He held his position until at least 1573: *TA*, xii, 365.

pursemaster.⁶ There was a provider, or steward, to the king's household in the Stirling lists. Andrew Haig held the position until 1572 when he was likely replaced by the foresaid Alexander Durham.

It has been suggested that the infant household included a wet-nurse and her servants, four 'rockers', two ladies to keep the king's clothes, and three gentlemen of the bedchamber. A further statement was made that the young king slept 'in a gloomy bed of black damask, the ruff, head-piece, and pillows being fringed with black' while other furnishings included three of Mary's tapestries brought from Holyroodhouse and a little picture of James V that hung on the wall.⁷

Helen Little, the king's mistress nurse, was assisted by one of her daughters, Sarah Gray, and two servants. The nurse had the primary day-to-day care of the young king and provided all the services that the countess considered beneath her dignity. In order to provide additional functions necessary for any infant, the king was assigned, at this date, five rockers who would have served alternating terms. It appears that all five young women were chosen from the nobility, and included Christiane Stewart, daughter of the late Lord Coldingham and sister of the future Earl Bothwell.⁸ Two women, Alison Sinclair and Grissell Gray,⁹ were noted as keepers of the king's 'claythis'.¹⁰ Alison may have done double duty as a rocker as subsequent treasurer's account payments describe her as such.¹¹ The suggestion that the infant king was assigned three gentlemen of the bedchamber is incorrect, primarily because the king's official bedchamber did not appear until years later. Three men were noted as 'in the king's chamber'. The first, William Murray, continued as one of the valets in the king's chamber; the other two, William Broccas and Alexander Ferguson, both

⁶ *TA*, xii, 117; *ER*, xx, 12, 141, 430; *RSS*, vii, 2390; *RSS*, viii, 1526.

⁷ D.H. Willson, *James VI & I* (London, 1963), 19. He also states that these items surrounded the king for years.

⁸ The others were Jane Oliphant, Elizabeth Callendar (Lady Kippenross), Jane Abercrombie and Katherine Murray.

⁹ E.21/70, fo.115r. Grissell Gray was another daughter of Helen Little.

¹⁰ Although Professor Willson's assumption that 'claythis' were 'clothes' is natural, the more likely choice would be to read 'claythis' as 'cloths' and thus affirm Alison's and Grissell's roles as the infant king's 'nappy cleaners'.

¹¹ *TA*, xiii, 176, 255.

appeared in various menial capacities within the chamber, usually described as firemen in the king's kitchen and chamber as well as servitors in his chamber.¹²

In addition to the king's basic bodily needs, provided by the nurse, her associates and gentlemen in the chamber, the king's dietary needs, as well as those of the entire household, had to be addressed: the wine cellar, ale cellar and the royal kitchens provided these requirements. The first of these, the wine cellar, was kept by Jerome Bowie in the infant king's household. In a ratification of a gift made to him on 30 June 1569, Bowie was described as 'now master of the king's wine cellar and cophous for life'.¹³ It must be noted that there is evidence of another appointment of a master of the king's wine cellar. Sir James Schaw of Sauchie appeared twice in the privy seal records, first on 11 March 1568 and again on 29 September 1578.¹⁴ Beyond these entries no mention was ever made of him in that capacity and it is clear that Jerome Bowie carried out the duties of the position throughout the reign. Most likely Schaw's appointment was honorary and hereditary as Alexander Schaw of Sauchie was a master of James V's wine cellar.¹⁵

It must not be forgotten that ale was the beverage of choice in Scotland. An idea of the level of ale consumption can be derived from information included in the Stirling account.¹⁶ The countess and her servants were allocated one gallon and two quarts of ale daily, as opposed to one quart and a pint of wine. Meanwhile, the mistress nurse received a gallon of ale and a pint of wine, for herself, whilst the rockers and other gentlewomen were jointly allowed one gallon, one quart and one pint of ale along with a quart of wine. Similar amounts were allowed to the master household, his servants and most other department heads. However, a few lower-ranking people such as the Hudsons, laundress, vessel man and kitchen help were given only a small allowance of ale and no wine. As for the king himself, although only a toddler, he was allocated one quart and a pint of ale daily. The person in charge of this massive ale consumption was George Boag, who was appointed as

¹² *TA*, xiii, 140, 207; *ER*, xx, 120, 345; *ER*, xxi, 131; *RSS*, vii, 991; Appendix 1. Murray was the son of the late John Murray, barber to James V. Broccas and Ferguson could hardly be considered 'gentlemen of the bedchamber'.

¹³ *RSS*, vi, 605. The 'cophouse' was the room for keeping cups or plate. An interesting note about Bowie is that he was married to Margaret Douchall, the king's laundress.

¹⁴ *RSS*, vi, 196; *RSS*, vii, 1671.

¹⁵ I would like to thank Andrea Thomas for bringing this to my attention.

¹⁶ GD.124/10/25.

brewster and [ale] cellar man, an appointment which he kept for most of the king's personal rule.¹⁷

The Stirling household identified five men in the king's kitchen: John Lyon, master cook; James Murray, foreman; William Murray, keeper of the vessels; Christopher Lamb, an aide; and John Sloan, porter. A number of these kitchen servitors worked their way upwards through the kitchen ranks, some splitting off into a later 'court' kitchen. Another kitchen-related servant mentioned in the Stirling household was Patrick Rannald, the pastry chef-master baker, who remained in the king's employ throughout his reign. Three other men, Thomas Cairns, William Darroch, and John Hannah, were listed in 1569 as bakers to the king.¹⁸

The Stirling lists also included instructions for the distribution of food prepared by the kitchen. The highest people on the food list were Lady Mar and her servants who were allocated beef, roasted capons, mutton, suckling veal and chicken or doves on 'flesh days'. The mistress nurse, rockers and other gentlewomen in the chamber were allocated a slightly lesser amount. A great majority of the servants, including the master household, received (on flesh days) beef, mutton, capons and chickens or doves as well as the daily mainstay of bread, ale and wine. The king's own daily provision is the most interesting: two loaves of bread, two capons, and, as already stated, one quart and a pint of ale.¹⁹

Additional household members included the king's minister, John Duncanson, and a group of English violers and 'sangistaris', the Hudsons.²⁰ There were five of them at one point although only four, James, Robert, Thomas and William, appeared with any frequency. There seem to have been two by the name of Thomas: one, was likely the father, who died or retired, as later mention is made of a Thomas,

¹⁷ Appendix 1.

¹⁸ Appendix 1. Cairns and Hannah retained that designation through at least 1573.

¹⁹ GD.124/10/25. The manner in which the meat and other food items was prepared and presented is not clear. James VI stated in 1599 that the royal table should be 'honourable served' but with only a few dishes, and those to be wholesome and free from 'the vice of delicacie'. Food should be simple, without composition or sauce, which are more like medicines than meat: James VI, *Basilicon Doron*, 167. If James was speaking from his own personal experience then likely these early meals were rather tasteless affairs.

²⁰ The Hudsons had arrived in Scotland in the entourage of James's father, Henry, Lord Darnley. Bryan Bevan suggested that only two Hudsons, Thomas and Robert, were musicians in the king's household, even though the king 'never had any ear for music': B. Bevan, *King James VI of Scotland & I of England* (London, 1996), 12.

younger.²¹ This explanation would correspond with an entry for ‘Mekill Thomas Hudson’.²² Although the Hudsons appeared in household lists from early on, it was not until December 1578 that they were formally appointed as the king’s domestic servants.²³

This household organisation provided the king’s needs quite adequately for several years. One area that was not addressed at the time of the king’s coronation was his education. This was rectified by the privy council in March 1570 when it was decided that an ageing George Buchanan, still Scotland’s most eminent scholar, should be appointed to direct the four-year-old king’s education. Peter Young, who had studied on the continent and was a mere youth at the age of 26, assisted him in this endeavour.²⁴ Buchanan approached his duties with the thought that ‘a king ought to be the most learned clerk in his dominions’ whilst Young instilled in him a deep aversion to Catholicism.²⁵ In addition to Buchanan and Young, Adam and David Erskine, the commendators of Cambuskenneth and Dryburgh, respectively, were appointed to superintend the king’s training in bodily exercises and accomplishments.²⁶

Young James’s relationships with his governess and tutors varied significantly. Buchanan and the countess of Mar were both ‘wise and sharp, and held the king in great awe’, while Young was gentle, and loath to offend the king at any time.²⁷ The countess was the closest to a mother that the king had ever known and that must be remembered whenever any mention is made of their relationship. Buchanan was chosen as director of chancery during Lennox’s regency, and afterwards was appointed keeper of the privy seal, which office he held until his April 1578 resignation in favour of his nephew, Thomas Buchanan of Ibert. As keeper of the privy seal, Buchanan was entitled to a seat in parliament, and was made an

²¹ H.M. Shire, *Song, Dance and Poetry of the Court of Scotland Under King James VI* (Cambridge, 1969), 70.

²² GD.124/10/25.

²³ RSS, vii, 1744.

²⁴ DNB.

²⁵ S.J. Houston, *Seminar Studies in History: James I* (London and New York, 1995, 2nd edition), 3.

²⁶ Both of the commendators had close family ties to the earl of Mar. David Erskine was the natural son of the late Robert, master of Erskine, the earl’s eldest brother. Adam Erskine was also a nephew, the natural son of the earl’s elder brother, Thomas, master of Erskine: *SP*, v, 611.

²⁷ P. Hume Brown, *George Buchanan: Humanist and Reformer, A Biography* (Edinburgh, 1890), 250, 251, 256.

extraordinary privy councillor in March 1578.²⁸ Young's gentle approach to the king paid off as he was appointed master almoner on 25 October 1577.²⁹ He and his wife figured prominently in the household as the king matured.³⁰

Childhood household, 1572

Upon Regent Mar's death in 1572, the guardianship of the king passed to Mar's brother, Sir Alexander Erskine of Gogar, while the countess continued her care of young James. Erskine was described by Sir James Melville as 'a nobleman of a true, gentle nature, well loved and liked of every man for his good qualities and great discretion, in no wise factious nor envious'.³¹ Without doubt, he was well liked by the young king as can be seen by his court appointments as well as the rise of his son, Thomas. The matter of the king's custody and preservation had been considered by the regent, the council and the estates; they decided the best course was to leave the king at Stirling Castle under the protection of the young earl of Mar and the countess, Alexander Erskine of Gogar, Robert, earl of Buchan, David, commendator of Dryburgh, and William Douglas of Lochleven. It was further determined that two of the guardians were to be present and resident, at all times, within the castle and that the king's house should be kept and furnished as before.³² This was to allow not only for consistency in the care of the king but also to ensure that no group or faction was able to gain physical control of the king.

Special emphasis must be placed on the role of the schoolroom at this period. A recent analysis of the household as a centre of learning has brought to light many fascinating aspects of Renaissance education. It has been suggested that everyone started their education within the family circle and that it was common for professional skills to be handed down within families.³³ This assumption can be born out by viewing household lists and the tendency of one family surname to dominate departments, both manual and managerial. Although this was likely the case with

²⁸ Hume Brown, *Buchanan*, 263, 266; *RSS*, vii, 1534.

²⁹ *RSS*, vi, 2404. With a yearly fee of £200.

³⁰ Appendix 1.

³¹ Willson, *James VI & I*, 20.

³² GD.124/10/37/1; GD.124/10/39.

³³ A.A. MacDonald, 'The Renaissance Household as Centre of Learning', in J.W. Drijvers & A.A. MacDonald (eds.), *Centres of Learning: Learning and Location in Pre-Modern Europe and the Near East* (Leiden, 1995), 289.

many of the king's servants and aristocracy, it differs slightly in relation to the king himself. As was common with many royal educations, the young prince, or king, as the case may be, was educated in company with a number of schoolmates. James was no different and was educated at Stirling with a number of boys near his age,³⁴ although reports vary as to whom these young Scots were. Two of James's closest classmates were the resident Erskine children: John, 2nd earl of Mar,³⁵ or 'jock o' the slaitis' as James liked to call him, and Mar's cousin, Thomas, son of the master of Mar. Both of these young Erskines benefited greatly in later life from their close ties to the king. Other classmates have been suggested as Sir William Murray of Abercairny, a nephew of the countess, Sir Walter Stewart, future Lord Blantyre, and Lord Inverhyle.³⁶ How long any of these boys were classmates is unclear, but it is clear that Sir Walter Stewart, just like Mar and Erskine, found childhood with the king to lead to benefits years later.

Sir Henry Killigrew, Queen Elizabeth's emissary to Scotland, visited James at Stirling in 1574 and provided one of the best descriptions of the education of the young king. He claimed that James:

speaketh the French tongue marvellous well; ...he was able *extempore* (which he did before me) to read a chapter of the Bible out of Latin into French, and out of French after into English, so well, as few men could have added anything to his translation. His schoolmasters ... made his Highness dance before me, which he likewise did with a very good grace; a Prince sure of great hope, if God give him life.³⁷

Frequently it has been noted that James complained of being able to speak Latin before he could speak Scots. The king's education has not always been described in a positive light:

The long hours, the difficult material, the severe discipline, the absence of love and tenderness so important for a child, were alike misguided and unfortunate. He was a nervous, excitable, over-strung boy, and the hothouse character of his education may well have increased these tendencies.³⁸

³⁴ These schoolmates are discussed in more depth later in the chapter.

³⁵ *SP*, v, 615-22.

³⁶ Willson, *James VI & I*, 26; if this name is correct he was likely a son of the countess's sister Katherine who married Robert Moray of Abercairny: *SP*, i, 465; *SP*, ii, 81-85.

³⁷ Willson, *James VI & I*, 24.

³⁸ Willson, *James VI & I*, 25.

Perhaps the ‘hothouse character’ was a factor in the undeniably close relationships that James developed with the childhood schoolmates. Regardless of how one analyses this education and its effect on the king’s personality, it cannot be denied that James was a highly educated king and made many important contributions to the course of Scottish, and English, education.

As James aged, his household was adapted to fit his changing needs. The royal education was one clear example, while other changes can be shown through the careful expansion of the royal household. In the kitchens, there was a shift from one baker-pastry chef to a separation of those duties into two distinct offices. Although there was undoubtedly much cooperation between the departments, it was likely necessary to expand the baking staff to cope with the needs of an enlarging household. Many other changes related to the king’s needs in and around the chamber. The first signs of a separate wardrobe department appeared in this period. Most importantly, William Beaton, the master embroiderer and *tapisier*, was appointed as master of the king’s wardrobe and aided by a valet. Unfortunately it is not clear whether William Murray, valet of the king’s wardrobe, was the same William Murray who provided lifetime service as a valet of the king’s chamber.³⁹ Other wardrobe positions included a glover, goldsmith, and a seamstress.⁴⁰

The stable was another area that enlarged as the king grew older and able to ride more frequently. Even before he could ride or develop his well-known love of hunting, the king’s establishment included a falconer and keepers of the dogs and hawks. In 1573, one man was named as keeper of the king’s horses. A few years later this had grown to two grooms of the stable and a master saddler. It has been stated that James ‘delighted in a crossbow, which he carried wherever he went, and in a pied horse’, a gift from the earl of Leicester. At Dundee he ‘ran for the golden ring on the pied horse, and ran right bravely’.⁴¹

In addition to the important addition of the wardrobe and stables, various other servants were added to the household staff. William Hudson, one of the violers, was appointed as the king’s dance teacher or ‘master balladine’. Other officers not

³⁹ Appendix 1.

⁴⁰ The seamstresses and laundresses were the only female household servants, apart from the nurse and other carers of the infant king.

⁴¹ Willson, *James VI & I*, 32; Moysie, *Memoirs*, 22-7; Calderwood, iii, 457-9; Bowes, *Correspondence*, 17.

mentioned in household lists were the master of works and a household minister. In addition to the violers, payments were made to a minstrel, John Baxter, and an organist. Less immediate servants included an attendant on the candles and chandeliers as well as the distant gardeners at Holyroodhouse. William Broccas and Alexander Ferguson were both listed in 1576 as servitors in the king's chamber, and a deceased Ferguson was described in 1577 as maker of the king's fires. Broccas received fees as a fireman in the king's chamber, although in 1578 he was described as a dresser of the king's chamber.⁴² He was assisted by John Murray as a fireman in the king's chamber.⁴³

The royal medical department was well-staffed by an apothecary, mediciner, and surgeon. A rigid distinction was made in the sixteenth century between academic learning and practically oriented craft skills. This meant that the academic physician, who utilised his mind rather than his hands, enjoyed a higher social status than the surgeon, who had a hands-on occupation.⁴⁴ Alexander Barclay was appointed as James's apothecary in February 1577; John Chisholm, doctor in surgery, was appointed as chief and principal surgeon to the king in September 1573, and was replaced by Gilbert Primrose in November 1576; Alexander Preston was appointed mediciner to the king in July 1568, and joined by Gilbert Moncrieff in September 1575 and Gilbert Skene in June 1581.⁴⁵

In addition to the filling of mundane household positions, a trend towards finding positions for the sons of the aristocracy was evident during this period. John Stewart, son of the constable of Stirling Castle, was appointed in March 1573 as a valet in the king's chamber.⁴⁶ Three years later, John Gibb, son of Robert Gibb of Carriber, was also appointed as a chamber valet.⁴⁷

An interesting, albeit negative, comment made by David Harris Willson makes reference to James's childhood and his lack of female companionship. As a means of displaying the king's supposedly negative attitude towards women, Willson recounted a story by Peter Young in which Young mentions that in a game of *trou-madame*, the

⁴² *TA*, xiii, 140, 207; *ER*, xx, 120, 345; *ER*, xxi, 131; *RSS*, vii, 991.

⁴³ *TA*, xiii 207; *ER*, xxi, 131.

⁴⁴ M. Nicholson, 'Medicine', in P.H. Scott (ed.), *Scotland: A Concise Cultural History* (Edinburgh, 1993), 329. See also H. Dingwall, *Physicians, Surgeons and Apothecaries: Medicine in Seventeenth-Century Edinburgh* (East Linton, 1995).

⁴⁵ Appendix 1.

⁴⁶ *RSS*, vi, 1865; Appendix 1.

⁴⁷ *RSS*, vii, 459; *RSS*, viii, 182; Appendix 1.

king wagered with several young ladies, lost, and behaved rudely when forced to pay the forfeit.⁴⁸ This episode would seem to fall more under the description of typical adolescent behaviour than problems relating to women. Although James seems to have viewed Lady Mar as a substitute mother, he was not raised with the same affectionate, loving, and comforting relationship that a real mother may possibly have provided. Of course, there is no guarantee that James would have developed any differently had Mary remained within Scotland, and he still would have spent more time in the company of his governess than his own mother.

Interim household (Lennox years), 1578-82

In order fully to understand the creation of the young king's formal court it is necessary to examine the final stage of the childhood household. This was the period between the 12-year-old king's acceptance of the government in his own person in March 1578 and the formal creation of his court by the privy council in October 1580. Politically, this was an important time as power shifted away from James Douglas, earl of Morton, who 'voluntarily' stepped down from the regency, only to be readmitted to the privy council, and given its 'first place', in June 1578.⁴⁹ There was also a significant worry that some action might be taken to gain control of the young king, and thus the country, through actual physical measures. A proclamation in Edinburgh, charging that none of 'our souerane lordis leidgis' carry or wear daggers or hand-guns under the pain of treason (with the exception of the king's ordinary officers and their servants),⁵⁰ is conspicuous in its timing. That this proclamation came only several days after Morton was removed shows the real fear that a move could be made upon the king, the most likely suspect being the recently-removed regent.

The household at this time was still in its developmental stages: larger than the infant household, yet significantly smaller than the later adult household. The lack of a formal organisation was due to a decision by the privy council on 6 May 1578 that 'the tyme is not yit propir and convenient to erect his Hienes hous with all the

⁴⁸ Willson, *James VI & I*, 27.

⁴⁹ *RPC*, ii, 704.

⁵⁰ Johnston, *History*, fo.516v. The proclamation was in April 1578.

officiaris and servandis belanging thairto'.⁵¹ Although James was, theoretically, in control of his own government, he was as yet a child and hardly in the position of presiding over a royal court. A government can be run by a privy council; a royal court, because of its reliance upon the monarch, cannot. Of great interest is a surviving account for the furnishing of the king's household, from November 1577 to November 1578, in which Alexander Erskine was given £5,760 11s 8d to 'furnish and sustain the king's house' including payments of yearly fees to the king's servants. Victuals, malt and barley were listed separately as were money and victuals designated specifically for the use of the countess of Mar.⁵² The money likely came to Erskine in his position as the king's guardian as he was neither a master household nor the steward.

A number of significant offices appeared in the records for the first time around this period. One example was the first mention of a porter, in June 1578, when John Boag and Patrick Crumby were appointed as the king's 'principal porters' for life. Two months later, Boag was appointed master porter and two days after his appointment, Thomas Inglis of Auldliston was appointed as another of the king's master porters.⁵³ To complicate matters further, in December 1580, Boag was appointed as 'oure soverane lordis onelie maister portar' and was referred to as such through 1588.⁵⁴ Four men were noted as sharing the duties of the king's master household in 1579: Alan, Lord Cathcart; James Colville of Easter Wemyss; Mungo Graham of Rathernis; and John Murray, son and heir of the comptroller.⁵⁵ It is unclear how long Murray fulfilled his household duties as he and John Fenton were jointly appointed as substitutes to Murray's father in August 1580.⁵⁶ A clerk of the king's household, Robert Porterfield, appeared in the account in February 1579 when he was allocated money for a suit of clothes for his marriage.⁵⁷

James and his councillors did their best to keep his household up to par with his contemporaries, which perhaps explains the large amount of seemingly inconsequential offices, many of which were created after 1578. The appearance of

⁵¹ *RPC*, ii, 694.

⁵² GD.124/10/46 & 47.

⁵³ Neither appointment made mention of Patrick Crumby as a principal porter.

⁵⁴ *RSS*, vii, 1568 B, 2016, 2022, 2624; *RSS*, viii, 2363; *ER*, xxi, 155, 368.

⁵⁵ *ER*, xx, 342; *ER*, xxi, 128.

⁵⁶ *RSS*, vii, 2470.

⁵⁷ *TA*, xiii, 253.

established court offices, such as the chamber positions of carver, server and cupbearer, were a clear sign of a move towards an adult household and the creation of a royal court. Three men appeared as the king's carvers: Andrew Wood, apparent of Largo, who in November 1577 was appointed 'gentilman of oure soverane lordis house and ane of his majesteis carvouris,' and in July 1582 was appointed coroner of Fife; Robert Erskine, apparent of Little Sauchie,⁵⁸ who received a fee in May 1578 and in September of that year was appointed for a five year term as the king's searcher of salt; and Michael Elphinstone, who apparently progressed from server to carver between September 1579 and July 1581.⁵⁹ James also had three servers from 1578 onwards: Michael Elphinstone, William Elphinstone and Thomas Erskine of Gogar.⁶⁰ These positions, with their inherent closeness to the king, were highly desirable and appear to have been given to sons of the nobility.⁶¹ Not only did the holders of such offices receive a significantly higher than average fee, but they were in a position to gain the ear of the king which allowed the possibility of advancing many of their own causes and friends. The king's minister was another important household office, especially given the relatively recent events of the Reformation; John Duncanson held this position from March 1568, and was joined in 1579 by John Craig.⁶²

Offices of lesser rank, but nonetheless important and well established, were those of glover and cordiner (shoemaker) to the king. James Ramsay had been appointed as glover in 1572 but was reappointed on December 1578. Henry White appeared in accounts as cordiner in 1569 but only received a lifetime appointment to the office in December 1578.⁶³ James Inglis and John Murdoch both appeared frequently, described as the king's tailors.⁶⁴ In 1573, Inglis was confirmed in his appointment as tailor to the king, which had been made by Henry and Mary in January 1567, and in September 1578 was re-appointed as king's tailor, for life, with

⁵⁸ Sir Robert Erskine of Little Sauchie would appear to have been the son of James Erskine, third son of Robert, 4th Lord Erskine, and apart from his duties as carver, was noted as a gentleman in the chamber through January 1583: *SP*, v, 608-9.

⁵⁹ *RSS*, vii, 1292, 1642; *RSS*, viii, 381, 882.

⁶⁰ Appendix 1. All three men are discussed in greater detail later in the chapter.

⁶¹ See the section on Courtiers: Lifetime Servitors later in this chapter.

⁶² Appendix 1.

⁶³ *TA*, xii & xiii; *RSS*, vii, 1750.

⁶⁴ *TA*, xii, 84, 97, 113, 117, 174, 181, 185. Inglis appeared to operate in the capacity of king's tailor while Murdoch appears to have performed tailoring services for the court.

the power ‘to use and exerce the said office alsweill in makking of his majesteis awin abuilyementis as in the claithis of his hienes paigeis and allacayis’.⁶⁵ Murdoch was appointed in May 1578 as ‘ane of the vallettis in oure soverane lordis garderober’ for life, and again in January 1583 as ‘vallat and tailyeour in oure soverane lordis garderobbe’, with a larger fee; a position that he retained through 1588.⁶⁶

Apart from the creation of new household positions, a move towards enlarging existing departments can also be noted. For the most part, this meant the addition of aides. James Galbraith was appointed ‘keipar of oure soverane lordis pantrie and breidhous’ for life in July 1578⁶⁷ but had been in that office since 1567.⁶⁸ On that same day Francis Galbraith was appointed ‘ayd in our soverane lordis pantry’ for life, receiving a yearly fee of £20.⁶⁹ In June 1579, Galbraith complained that he had received no provision for linens for the king’s table and household from either the treasurer or comptroller since the king’s acceptance of the government.⁷⁰ This can be seen as a clear sign of the instability of the household at this juncture, especially in the area of financial coordination. James White was appointed as a domestic servant to the king with the ‘office of keeping of his hienes wyne sellare’ for life in June 1578 with a fee of £20.⁷¹

The following assorted offices appeared primarily from the second half of 1578: Mungo Brady, goldsmith, and James Young, cutler, both prominent Edinburgh craftsmen; Arnold Bronckhurst, painter; George Strachan, tapestry maker and repairer; John Abraham, hat maker; David Murray, cupbearer; William Todd, couper [i.e. horse dealer] and ‘special servitor in that behalf’; Richard Wright, reader to the king; James Cowper, plumber; and John Gibson, bookbinder.⁷² Another interesting appointment was that of keeper of the king’s catchpullis, the French *jeu de paume*. John Killoch and Robert Shaw were appointed in April 1582 to ‘the office of the keeping of oure soverane lordis caichpollis, als weill biggit as unbiggit, in all and

⁶⁵ RSS, vi, 2049; RSS, vii, 1664.

⁶⁶ RSS, vii, 1535; RSS, viii, 1105; ER, xxi, 368.

⁶⁷ RSS, vii, 1584.

⁶⁸ Appendix 1.

⁶⁹ RSS, vii, 1583.

⁷⁰ RPC, iii, 186.

⁷¹ RSS, vii, 1549. It is more likely that the office he held was that of the first aide in the wine cellar as it was in that capacity that he received his payments throughout the years (see Appendix 1), not to mention that the £20 fee was that of an aide, not a department master.

⁷² Appendix 1; RSS, vii & viii; TA, xiii.

quhatsumevir pairtis within his hienes realme, and furnessing of ballis, rakkettis and uther necessar furnitour appernyng thairto'.⁷³

One event significantly altered the development of the young king's household and court: the arrival of his thirty-seven-year-old cousin, Esmé Stewart, sieur d'Aubigné. Esmé, the nephew of Matthew and Robert Stewart, the king's grandfather and great-uncle, respectively, arrived in Leith from France on 8 September 1579. The young king, growing up without the company of close relatives, immediately took to this cousin, and his favour at court was almost instantaneous. He was created earl of Lennox in March 1580⁷⁴ and was one of a handful of nobles to subscribe to a document to the king requesting the appointment of gentlemen of the chamber. His importance and influence can be seen by the placement of his name, directly after that of the chancellor.⁷⁵

As previously stated, the privy council had decided in May 1578 that it was not yet time to erect the king's adult household and court. Before a royal court was erected for the young king, his household was reassembled to better serve his changing needs. The first bill of the king's household, apart from the Stirling list, was dated in May 1580, and it was this list that provided the primary foundations upon which the household continued to develop.⁷⁶ The changes in the king's household were anticipated by Robert Bowes, English ambassador, who reported on 10 August 1580 that a special assembly of the council was to meet in Edinburgh where it was expected that changes would be made of the commissioners and officers in the king's house.⁷⁷ This occurred on 24 September 1580 when the privy council decided it was time to create a royal court and advised the king, 'for bettir attendence upoun his Hienes persoun', to elect a nobleman to the office of high chamberlain and first gentleman of his chamber, someone to act as his deputy, and 'xxiiii personis, barrounes or the sonnes or brethir of noblemen and barronis, that hes the moyen to leif on thair awin' to be under the command of the high chamberlain. This decision was signed by the earls of Argyll, Lennox and Eglinton, Lords Ruthven and Lindsay, the commendators of Dunfermline and Newbattle, Alexander Hay, and 'Joannes

⁷³ *RSS*, viii, 805.

⁷⁴ *RPC*, iii, 272, 272f.

⁷⁵ *RPC*, iii, 316.

⁷⁶ Appendix 2.

⁷⁷ Bowes, *Correspondence*, xlvi.

Stewart'.⁷⁸ These gentlemen of the chamber were to serve the king in quarterly shifts of eight, as designated by the lord chamberlain.⁷⁹

Lennox's influence in the creation of the household is clear: he reorganised it, giving himself the combined offices of lord great chamberlain and first gentleman of the chamber, 'thereby reinforcing the characteristically French ambience of the Scottish court that goes back to the reign of James V'.⁸⁰ His duties included supervision of the staff of the bedchamber, overseeing the safety of the king's person, and assisting with the king's dressing and undressing.⁸¹ He also had the first option of sleeping within the king's chamber. On 12 August 1581, Lennox's control over the chamber was increased when he was given the charge of contracting for the king's wardrobe.⁸² Alexander Erskine of Gogar, master of Mar and captain of Edinburgh Castle, was nominated as the deputy chamberlain, and apparently was to be returned 'to his old room'.⁸³ Stewart and Erskine, two highly influential nobles, were elected prior to the nomination of the 24 ordinary gentlemen of the chamber and the six extraordinary gentlemen,⁸⁴ almost all of whom were supporters of the Lennox faction. It was reported by Bowes that James was shown a list of 48 names from which he could choose his gentlemen, although the final 24 had already been determined by Lennox. It was further reported that the current officers and extraordinary servitors in the king's house expected the new changes in the household to be the preparation for their discharge.⁸⁵ This would most likely have been the opinion of those who were not close to Lennox and his ever-enlarging faction. In another letter to Lord Burghley and Sir Francis Walsingham, Bowes reported that although the king disliked some of those named, primarily the masters of Cassillis, Livingston, Elphinstone, Ogilvy, and George Douglas, through Lennox's persuasion and means they were received.⁸⁶ Of the new gentlemen of the chamber, a few either held previous offices or received an additional appointment later: Mark Kerr of Prestongrange, son of the commendator of

⁷⁸ *RPC*, iii, 316. The last of these men, Joannes Stewart, was likely incorrectly recorded and should have been listed as Captain James Stewart, a man who had already gained the favour of both the king and Lennox, and was at the start of his meteoric rise to power.

⁷⁹ *RPC*, iii, 323; *CSP Scot.*, v, no.631.

⁸⁰ Houston, *James I*, 5.

⁸¹ *CSP Scot.*, v, no.631.

⁸² *RPC*, iii, 416.

⁸³ Bowes, *Correspondence*, lxv.

⁸⁴ Appendix 3.

⁸⁵ Bowes, *Correspondence*, lxviii, lxv.

⁸⁶ *CSP Scot.*, v, no.615; Bowes, *Correspondence*, lxxii.

Newbattle, was the king's master of requests; George Douglas of Rungallie, brother to William Douglas of Lochleven, became master usher of the king's chamber; and Captain James Stewart, son of Andrew, Lord Ochiltree, was soon to become captain of the king's guard and eventually earl of Arran.⁸⁷

With the creation of the formal court came a new interest in royal favouritism. Lennox, and later Captain James Stewart, both suffered from their positions as royal favourites. Thomas Fowler wrote in 1581: 'It is thought that this king is too much carried by young men that lie in his chamber and are his minions'.⁸⁸ That may indeed have been the case, but what must be remembered is that the king was still young and had grown up with no siblings or cousins. Therefore those surrounding him became the closest to a family that he had, primarily those young men with whom he had been raised. Furthermore, a majority of Scotland's noblemen were of an age with the king⁸⁹ and it seems only natural that he would have been swayed in some way by his friendships with them.

One interesting story highlighted the competition between two who already held the king's favour. It was stated that upon the king's first entry to Holyroodhouse, d'Aubigné barred the door of Mar's chamber because it was located next to the king's.⁹⁰ D'Aubigné immediately took upon himself the charge of the king's custody and removed Mar who, upon complaining to the council and receiving no help, left court and returned to Stirling in September 1580. Soon afterwards, d'Aubigné was created earl of Lennox by the resignation of Robert, earl of Lennox, his father's brother.⁹¹

Many of the king's servitors appeared at various times listed strictly as servitors to the king, providing primarily unspecified service.⁹² One 'daylie servitour' who served the king throughout his reign in Scotland was Roger Aston, who in July 1581 was gifted with a pension 'in respect of his service not onlie to his hienes umquhile dearest guidschir and Regent, his gudame and fader of worthie memorie, bot als to his majesties self, and specialie sen the acceptatioun of the government of

⁸⁷ *RPC*, iii, 322-3, 323n; *RSS*, vii, 1527, 2679; *RSS*, viii, 188. Stewart had recently been created baron of Bothwellmuir.

⁸⁸ Houston, *James I*, 6.

⁸⁹ Brown, 'Nobility of Jacobean Scotland', in Wormald (ed.), *Scotland Revisited*, 68. When James turned 21, the average age of the higher nobility was only 27.

⁹⁰ The earl of Mar's chamber was near the king's as Mar still retained nominal custody of the king.

⁹¹ Adv. MS 33.7.25, fo.238.

⁹² Appendix 1.

his realme in his awin persone'.⁹³ Two additional gentlemen of the king's chamber, appointed in June 1580, were Alexander and William Murray, the sons of Sir William Murray of Tullibardine, the king's comptroller.⁹⁴ Regardless of their description as gentlemen of the chamber, they are not to be confused with the 24 ordinary gentlemen of the king's chamber who were appointed in October 1580.

The May 1580 bill of household included such necessary positions as ushers of the king's chamber doors; a prerequisite to keeping out unwanted visitors as the royal court developed. The office of 'his majesteis houshald man and servand and depute ischear and kepar of his previe chalmer dur' was presented on 20 August 1572 to Alexander Young who, in December 1575, was additionally appointed as a valet of the king's wardrobe.⁹⁵ He was joined by John Drummond, son of Sir Robert Drummond of Carnock, who appeared as usher of the king's inner chamber door between June 1578 and January 1581.⁹⁶ George Douglas of Rungallie, nominated as an ordinary gentleman of the chamber in October 1580, was appointed two months later as master usher of the king's chamber with the consent of George Douglas, bishop of Moray, the 'present maister ischear' of the king, although there is no evidence of the bishop's appointment.⁹⁷

The office of master of the king's stables was clearly one of the more influential appointments, judging by the names of appointees. The first 'principall maister of all his hienes horsis and stabillis', appointed in May 1581, was Sir John Seton, third son of George, 5th Lord Seton. Sir John had been brought up at the court of Spain, made a knight of Santiago, a gentleman of the bedchamber and *caballero de la boca*, and granted a pension of 2000 crowns yearly by King Philip II. He was well received at the English court in 1575 and had been given instructions in April 1581 to act as an envoy to the court of England. This journey was aborted when he was stopped from crossing the border into England.⁹⁸ A few months later he was given the charge of furnishing of the stables as well as seeing to the 'clething of his Majesties pageis and allacayes'.⁹⁹

⁹³ RSS, viii, 390.

⁹⁴ RSS, vii, 2384, 2385.

⁹⁵ RSS, vi, 1711; RSS, vii, 376; RSS, viii, 510. Young still held both offices in November 1581.

⁹⁶ TA, xiii, 208, 267; RSS, viii, 47.

⁹⁷ RSS, vii, 2679; RPC, iii, 323.

⁹⁸ RSS, viii, 263; RPC, iii, 384; SP, viii, 588-9.

⁹⁹ RPC, iii, 416.

Five men were recorded as masters of the king's stables during this early period, none of whom appeared before 1579: Mr William Erskine had been described as an esquire in 1578; Patrick Drummond, son of Sir Robert Drummond of Carnock, master of works, suffered 'deposition' in 1582; David Home of Cranshaws replaced Drummond; James Preston, formerly master of the stable to the late Regent Mar; and John Livingston of Abercorn.¹⁰⁰ A comptroller of the king's stable, James Livingston of Inchmauchan, was appointed in an attempt to control ever-increasing expenses in September 1581.¹⁰¹ James's coffers were never especially solvent and this was simply one of many attempts at economising.

The king's servants obviously performed more duties than those for which their offices implied. Bowes reported in July 1580 that James had escaped great danger when his horse fell upon him. Apparently the king's servants, who were travelling with him, wanted to kill the horse with their swords, although in the end both king and horse were saved.¹⁰² Who these servants were is unclear. They could have been the gentlemen pensioners included in the May 1580 household; or they could have been any number of either the king's chamber servants or servitors from the stables. What is clear is that they were well armed and apparently doubled as the king's guard when travelling.

Some mention should also be made to indicate the types of payments received by various household officers and the terms they served, all of which were included in the 1580 household bill. The highest fee went to George Buchanan, the king's primary preceptor, who received £666 13s 4d. Peter Young followed closely behind with his fee of £333 6s 8d as second preceptor, and an additional fee of £133 6s 8d and livery of £66 13s 4d for his position as master almoner. The highest-ranking servitors were the four masters of the household, appointed to serve quarterly terms, who each received £222 4s 5d in fees¹⁰³ and £111 2s 2d in livery. The king's two ministers each received £200 in fees. The servers, carvers and cupbearers (the king's 'gentlemen servants') were appointed to serve half-year terms and each received £133 6s 8d in fees and £66 13s 4d for their liveries. The four stable masters were, like the household masters, to serve quarterly terms, although their fees were identical to the

¹⁰⁰ *TA*, xiii, 207, 275; *RMS*, iv, 2909; *RSS*, viii, 290, 432, 883; *TA*, xii, 317; *ER*, xx, 131.

¹⁰¹ *RSS*, viii, 473.

¹⁰² Bowes, *Correspondence*, xxxix.

¹⁰³ Their fees were to cover the costs of food and drink for their servants.

gentlemen servants. Interestingly, a note was made that there was to be one ‘master of stable’ who would receive £200, and his substitute who was to receive 100 merks. Other high fees, without liveries, were given to the sumpterman, quartermaster, master of the carriage, and the jointly serving averymen who all received £120.

It would appear that the length of service reflected whether or not the position was considered honorary. In other words, with a few exceptions, the positions usually sought after by the nobility contained terms of service that usually ran from four to six months, such as the master households, the masters of the stable, the gentlemen servants and the gentlemen of the chamber. The most noticeable exceptions of honorary full-year service positions were the high chamberlain and his deputy, the master of the wardrobe, who received fees of £133 6s 8*d* and £66 13s 4*d* in livery, and the four gentlemen in the king’s privy chamber who each received £222 4s 5*d* in fees and £111 2s 2*d* in livery.¹⁰⁴

The remaining servants were all appointed to serve the entire year, although their fees varied greatly. One of the highest yearly fees went to the mediciner who received a total of £200. Fees of £66 13s 4*d* and liveries of £33 6s 8*d* were allocated to the household clerk of expenses, the masters of the pantry, wine cellar, ale cellar, and king’s kitchen, the master porter, the two ushers of the king’s inner chamber door, four valets of the king’s chamber, two valets in the wardrobe, and the tailor in the wardrobe. The aide horsemen¹⁰⁵ in the various departments earned fees of £33 6s 8*d* and liveries of £16 13s 4*d*. Others who received identical fees were the masters of the larder and spice house, the caterer, laundress, surgeon, usher before the king’s meat, and two ushers of the king’s outer chamber. The aide footmen¹⁰⁶ received £10 fees and £10 liveries, as did the grooms of the spice house, silver vessels, the cupbearers and grooms in the household hall, and two grooms in the king’s kitchen. The court kitchen differed slightly as the master cook received £44 8s 10*d* and £22 4s 5*d* and the two grooms received a total of £20 each. The lowest kitchen workers were the turnbroches¹⁰⁷ who received a total of £10 each, the same amount received by each of the two dichters¹⁰⁸ of the closes. A mid-range fee of £44 8s 10*d* and livery of £22 4s

¹⁰⁴ E.34/35.

¹⁰⁵ The grooms, or first aides, in household offices.

¹⁰⁶ The second aides.

¹⁰⁷ The young boys who turned the large spits over the kitchen fires.

¹⁰⁸ Cleaners.

5*d* was given to the writer of the accounts, the armourer and the pastry maker. The keeper of the silver vessels received a total of £40, the poultry man and coalman, £30. As for the king's musicians, the Hudsons received, as a group, £210 in fees and £200 for their liveries, while two additional musicians received £50 each for fees. A number of other servitors received fees but no liveries: £66 13*s* 4*d* to the embroiderer; £60 to the seamstress, each of the four keepers of the horses in the king's stables, the king's four lackeys¹⁰⁹ and the saddler; and £40 for the court laundress.

Financial problems began to appear in the early 1580s, a sign of what was to come later in the reign. Wine suppliers threatened to withhold the supply of wine to the royal household in early 1582 because of unpaid bills, resulting in the official sanction of a raid on east coast warehouses and promise of payment a year later.¹¹⁰ As will be seen, late-payment and non-payment of royal debts became an increasingly serious problem, especially in areas such as the guard.

Service was not all that was expected of the king's servitors. James insisted that his household, primarily his administrators and courtiers, publicly confess their faith in the reformed religion. The confession would not only ensure the loyalty of the king's courtiers but also would provide a clear direction in which the king wanted his subjects to proceed. Although this may seem like a surprising move at first glance, especially given the presence of Esmé Stewart, it should be remembered that the Reformation happened only recently, during the reign of the king's mother, and that, during most of the king's childhood, the nation had been divided in an armed conflict between the Catholic Queen's Men and the Protestant King's Men. The King's Confession was subscribed by James and his household on 28 January 1581 at Edinburgh. Those who signed included the high chamberlain, the chancellor, the admiral, the treasurer, two masters of the household, the captain of the guard, the king's secretary, two cupbearers, a carver, a gentleman in the privy chamber, the great master usher, the argenter, the comptroller, the king's ministers and his almoner:

Seing that we and our houshold have subscribed, and givin this publict
confessioun of our faith, to the good example of our subjects, we
command and charge all commissioners and ministers to crave the
same confessioun of their parochiners, ... Subscribed with our hand, at

¹⁰⁹ Footmen.

¹¹⁰ *RPC*, iii, 451-3; J. Goodare and M. Lynch, 'James VI: Universal King?' in J. Goodare and M. Lynch (eds.), *The Reign of James VI* (East Linton, 1999), 15.

Halyrudhous, the secund day of Marche, 1580, the 14th yeere of our raigne.¹¹¹

This was by no means a full accounting of the king's household. There were several important people missing, such as the chamberlain depute, several gentlemen of the chamber and the masters of the stable. Nor is there any indication that the rank-and-file household members, such as the masters of the ale and wine cellars, the chamber servitors or the kitchen help, subscribed to the document. Thus, although important in what it hoped to accomplish, it was only a very select section of the household that appears to have signed.

Early Adult Household, 1582-89

The next documented stage in the development of the king's household started in November 1582, during the period of the Ruthven administration, with an updated household list.¹¹² An attempt was made at this time to return to the old formulation of King James V's household, leaving behind the different, and very French, organisation of the household under Mary, queen of Scots, and her mother Mary of Guise.¹¹³ The organisation of Mary of Guise's household and its accounting procedures naturally displayed a strong French influence which included the French practice of dating the year beginning at Easter, and an argenter who purchased provisions, paid servants wages, and defrayed other household expenditures. Her household expenses were kept in three small books, the first two of which covered both stable and ordinary expenses broken into subdivisions of *panneterie*, *cuisine* and *fructerie*, and a third book which covered extraordinary expenditures such as wages, transportation and clothing. The household organisation of Mary, queen of Scots, followed the same pattern as her mother's, although the financing of the royal wardrobe was removed from the household and returned to the accounts of the treasurer.¹¹⁴ Provisioning and furnishing of the household and the management of its finances was solely the duty of the comptroller whilst the day-to-day discipline and

¹¹¹ Calderwood, iii, 501-2.

¹¹² Appendix 2; E.34/36.

¹¹³ A.L. Murray, 'The Comptroller 1425-1610', An Essay presented for the David Berry Prize of the Royal Historical Society (October 1970), (NAS) G.A.355.93, 50.

¹¹⁴ Murray, 'Comptroller', 61, 62, 63.

other assorted non-financial matters were under the control of the master household, with the assistance of the household steward. The comptroller's accounts therefore showed total household payments with the particulars recorded, in a separate record, by the clerk of expenses.¹¹⁵

James's 1582 household simply followed traditional arrangements by directing the accounts to be heard nightly after supper and audited by the master household, the clerk of expenses and the comptroller or his clerk. The steward, who was 'to know of all provisiouns and fourneissing quhatsumever salbe entrit within the kingis majesties hous, the price, quantittie and qualities thairof',¹¹⁶ was to attend the audits to declare the price of the goods purchased and to provide information as to the consumption of current stocks. In order to more closely follow the practices of James V's household, the king's councillors discussed creating a daily household book, a buying book and a monthly stable account. Daily accounts were to be divided into four divisions. The first division included the following: the pantry, which covered the entry, expenditure and remains of loaves and pastry; the buttery, which accounted for the consumption of ale and beer; the kitchen, which was responsible for meat, fish and poultry; and the cellar, which recorded wine consumption. The accounts were also to record travel expenses and whether or not household members were absent from duty or if they were ill and therefore granted wages or some type of maintenance fee. The second division was the spice book that named the suppliers or purchasers of spices, including sugar, and the chandlery, which accounted for towels, cloths and cups. A third section recorded the purchases and gifts of wine along with its storage locations and any transportation charges. The final section was comprised of the stable accounts, or avery books, which in the reign of James V were made at irregular intervals, according to household movements, and consisted mostly of purchased hay and oats, but also included supplies from crown lands and the payments of servants' wages and stable hire.¹¹⁷

It is highly doubtful that any of the directives given in the 1582 household suggestions were actually implemented as the only household book from the reign bears very little resemblance to the pattern which was obtained with James V's

¹¹⁵ Murray, 'Comptroller', 50; E.34/6 & 7.

¹¹⁶ Murray, 'Comptroller', 52; E.34/7.

¹¹⁷ Murray, 'Comptroller', 51, 53, 54; E.34/7; E.34/36.

accounts. Two household books belonging to Anna survive, but again, they are in the same style as the king's. All three books give a daily account as to where the king or queen was on a certain date, the amounts of bread, ale, and wine that were consumed, the types of meat prepared, and occasionally the names of those with whom they dined.¹¹⁸

It was hoped that the reorganisation of the household would ease financial problems by insuring that funds were sent when, and where, they were needed. Earlier, in June 1579, James's master of the pantry had encountered problems in receiving necessary household funds. He complained that he could get 'na naiprie for furnishing of his Hienes tabill and houshald, nouthar at the handis of his thesaurar nor comptrollar', after which outburst the council ruled that linens should be furnished by the comptroller, as had been done under James V.¹¹⁹

Incoming funds were a constant source of concern, and therefore it was likely looked upon with great relief when, in 1582, the comptroller was allowed £10,000 from the collectory of the thirds of benefices in order to help with the household expenses.¹²⁰ In April 1583, the convention voted for a tax collection of £20,000,¹²¹ the purpose of which was to repay treasurer Ruthven for crown debts contracted during the king's minority and to cover 'utheris his maist nedifull and wechtie effairis'. Of this amount, £10,000 was to be provided by benefice-holders, £6,666 13s 4d by barons and freeholders, and £3,333 6s 8d by the burghs. The originally requested amount of £100,000 was postponed to a later parliament.¹²² Although not enough to cover the daily expenses of the household, any taxations or grants of money were looked upon very favourably by the king and his provisioners. Mary Stewart sent Monsieur de Fontenay, the brother of her secretary, to Scotland in 1584 in the hopes that James would feel compelled to assist his mother in her plight. Fontenay remarked with surprise upon the young king's household, saying: 'The King is extremely penurious. To his domestic servants -- of whom he has but a fraction of the

¹¹⁸ Murray, 'Comptroller', 54; E.31/15-17.

¹¹⁹ *RPC*, iii, 186-7; Murray, 'Comptroller', 66.

¹²⁰ *RPC*, iii, 533; Murray, 'Comptroller', 66.

¹²¹ *APS*, iii, 328-30.

¹²² J. Goodare, 'Parliamentary Taxation in Scotland, 1560-1603', *SHR*, lxviii (April 1989), 49.

number that served his mother -- he owes more than 20,000 merks for wages and for the food and goods they have provided. He lives only by borrowing'.¹²³

Financial burdens, and constant attendance at court, often proved to be too much for the various comptrollers and treasurers. Sir James Campbell of Ardkinglass petitioned in July 1585 to be allowed to resign as the 'furnissing and provisioun of his Hienes house and stable, requiring almaist the continual personall attendance of his Majesteis comptrollar' was incompatible with his new responsibilities as tutor to the young earl of Argyll.¹²⁴ The comptrollership was a severe strain on personal resources as the household continued to function, regardless of the amount of money available, and it often fell to the comptroller and treasurer to cover the royal expenses out of their own pockets. Andrew Wood of Largo, Campbell's replacement as comptroller, entered into a contract in January 1587 with Sir John Seton of Barns whereby the latter was to 'provyde sufficientlie his majesteis tabill and the hail howshald servandis contenit in his hienes bill of howshald in meitt, drink, spyce, walx, uncoistis, out-liverayis, and all uther necesser expensis in his hienes hous contenit in the bukis of howshald' as well as all expenses of the stable and the furnishing of 'naiprie, fyreweschell and tyneveschell for the year'. The comptroller was to pay Seton £20,000 in instalments and to provide him with 30 tuns of Bordeaux wine, 36 chalders of wheat and 84 chalders of bear. The actual cost of the household of 1586 amounted to £21,000 although accounts show the comptroller to have paid only £18,390.¹²⁵ Sir John Seton eventually replaced Wood as comptroller, but remained in office only a year.

The next documented stage in the physical development of the king's household started in November 1582 with an updated bill of household.¹²⁶ The importance of this list is that it followed closely behind the Ruthven Raid of 23 August 1582. The raid was planned and executed by a number of dissident nobles, including the earls of Gowrie, Mar and Glencairn, who wished to remove the king and government from the influence of both Lennox and Captain James Stewart, earl of Arran, and did so by imprisoning the king in Ruthven Castle. Lennox was ordered to leave Scotland, which he did in December 1582, and Arran was put under eventual

¹²³ Willson, *James VI & I*, 54.

¹²⁴ Murray, 'Comptroller', 66; *RPC*, iii, 753-4.

¹²⁵ Murray, 'Comptroller', 67; *ER*, xxi, 618-20, 366.

¹²⁶ Appendix 2; E.34/36.

house arrest at his seat of Kinneil. In the midst of this confusion, it is important to notice that care was taken to continue the growth of the king's household.

One of the most significant results of the Ruthven Raid was the removal of Lennox, who had provided such a strong guiding hand in the enlargement of the king's household and the creation of his court. The importance of Lennox's influence on the court was not erased although the man himself was forced out, and died soon thereafter in France. The Ruthven regime itself lasted no more than a year but its repercussions were felt much longer. Although Lennox was gone, Arran returned to court and obtained an even higher position than he had previously held. The earl of Mar again attempted to obtain possession of the king a couple of years later in the form of the so-called 'Stirling Raid', but was unsuccessful. Although Mar was forgiven for all of his misdeeds,¹²⁷ the leader of the Ruthven Raid, the earl of Gowrie, was not so fortunate: Gowrie lost his head and his family lost much of their land and possessions as a result of his involvement.

The hope of many Scottish courtiers, that they had removed the influence of Esmé Stewart, receded in November 1583 when Esmé's eldest son, Ludovick, aged nine, arrived from France. Two days later, he was transported by the earls of Huntly, Crawford and Montrose to the king, who was staying at Kinneil at the time.¹²⁸ This was the start of a long and close relationship between James and his cousin, in which Ludovick, soon to be created the 2nd duke of Lennox and high chamberlain of Scotland, became the highest-ranking nobleman in Britain.

Several changes were made to the king's household during the Ruthven regime. Although some attempt was made to limit access to the king, there appears to have been a corresponding attempt to increase the adult nature of the household and continue the expansion of his childhood establishment. In addition to the gentlemen, servers, cupbearers, carvers, valets, ushers and grooms in the chamber from May 1580, there were the 24 ordinary and six extraordinary gentlemen (honorary, unpaid positions) who had been included in October 1580, two dichters and fire-makers, a musician, six pages and their servant, and a master usher. The wardrobe was given an additional valet as well as a tailor specifically assigned to it. In order to maintain the royal tapestries, which provided the primary decoration of the royal residences, and

¹²⁷ See the section on Courtiers: Stirling Classmates below for more about the earl of Mar.

¹²⁸ Johnston, *History*, fo.553r.

were usually transported with the king, a *tapisier* and aide were added. Help in the various service departments was augmented by the appearance of an aide to the baker, a keeper and aide of the tin vessels,¹²⁹ and the division of the larder into the great larder with a keeper and an aide and the petite larder with one keeper. Other additions included three aides to the master porter and a ‘battend on the outermost door’. Apart from these household officers, the stable was increased with the inclusion of 10 palfreniers.¹³⁰

It is likely that concern over expenses played a major part in the only cutbacks made to the household: the decrease in the number of masters of the household from four to two, and a corresponding decline in the number of master stablers. However, a glance over the names and dates of those occupying the offices would seem to disprove the idea that the changes were implemented as more than two people are often found serving during the same period. Accounts throughout the period are haphazard and a distinction was not always made between a currently serving officer and one who had held the post in the past.

The king’s escape from the Ruthven lords in June 1583 caused concern over the composition of James’s household, especially to those who had been associated with the Gowrie regime. Bowes reported in late-July that a number of people, both about the king and in his household, were expected to be removed shortly, and that the most likely candidates were the earls of Angus, Mar and any others associated with the Ruthven raiders. The king apparently agreed to remove only a few, so as not to cause too many inconveniences; none of whom were privy councillors or of the nobility.¹³¹ James himself noted a change in ‘servants’ as a result of the raid:

...my servants put unto me, not choosing them that were meetest to serue me, but whom [them that had the command] thought meetest to serue their turn about me; as kithed wel in manie of them at the first rebellion raised against me; which compelled me to make a great alteration among my servants.¹³²

Regardless of the king’s words, the accounts do not show a ‘great alteration’ among the king’s servants. Thus, the question is: to whom did the king refer when he

¹²⁹ The tin vessels would have been associated with the household hall and court dining as opposed to the silver vessels for the king’s use.

¹³⁰ Grooms.

¹³¹ Bowes, *Correspondence*, ccxxxvii.

¹³² James VI, *Basilicon Doron*, 112.

mentioned ‘servants’? Due to the lack of change in the rank-and-file members of the household, it would appear that James referred to those courtiers who held honorary, politically-motivated, appointments.

The reports of the English ambassador provide the best insight into who moved in or out of which positions and why, even if they were biased towards finding courtiers and servitors hopefully useful to the English. Bowes reported in August 1583 that the king’s household servants changed daily, and those primarily being removed were people ‘affectionate to England’, dependent upon Angus or Mar, or involved in the Ruthven Raid.¹³³ He reported that Lord Fleming, due to his connections with the earl of Montrose, was to replace George Douglas as usher in the king’s house, the master of Crawford was to become chief master stabler,¹³⁴ and William Stewart, captain of Dumbarton Castle, was to replace James Murray [as master] in the wardrobe.¹³⁵

Movement within the household was a common occurrence, one that affected those in the upper positions more so than lower-ranking daily servitors, one of the reasons that it is so difficult to determine the names of those who held honorary positions within the chamber. In other words, it was less likely for the master of the wine cellar to suddenly find himself without his office, than it was for a master of the guard, master stabler, or master of the wardrobe, to be replaced upon short notice. These changes were of great concern to the English and French governments who had procured the assistance of many of the king’s household retainers in attempts to influence the king’s decision-making processes.

An important courtly department that appeared during this period was that of the royal guard. Every king needed a royal guard, and James was no different.¹³⁶ A convention at Holyroodhouse in October 1582 agreed that there should be ‘ane great gaird teane up for the King and nobiletie’ consisting of 200 horsemen and 200

¹³³ Bowes, *Correspondence*, ccxliii.

¹³⁴ There is no mention in the accounts of the master of Crawford, or any Lindsays, as a master stabler at any time during James’s reign.

¹³⁵ This report, too, is questionable. James Murray, said to have been a pensioner of Queen Elizabeth, appeared in accounts only to 1583, so he was replaced by somebody. The next person to appear in the accounts as master of the wardrobe was Patrick, master of Gray, in 1584. It is possible that William Stewart held the position as an interim post, but again, there is no documentation of such.

¹³⁶ For more information on the royal guard during James’s reign see: J. Goodare, *State and Society in Early Modern Scotland* (Oxford, 1999), chapter 5: Warfare.

footmen.¹³⁷ A guard of such dimensions never seems to have come into permanent place. One obvious reason was the habitual lack of money in the royal coffers; but another reason was suggested by Bowes who claimed that the officers of the present guard were able to defer the matter for so long that it was thought needless.¹³⁸ A little over a month later, Bowes reported that the king understood the ‘present dangers’ towards his person and the alteration of the state, and ‘to give the more occasion to hasten the duke’s departure’ was pleased and desired to have a guard immediately levied about him for his safety. Gowrie and the other leaders concluded that a smaller guard of 100 horsemen and 100 footmen should be ‘listed and put in pay’ under the command of Colonel William Stewart,¹³⁹ until at least the time that the king’s ambassador could return from his journey to England and the situation in the country be ‘better settled’.¹⁴⁰ Nearer the end of the month, the situation of the guard was again reported upon; it was decided that the guard about the king had provided a good defence and should be continued. However, its cost, which ‘so burdeneth the king as hardly can it be maintained so long as the necessity of the affairs require’, was brought to the attention of Bowes who was expected to loan money on behalf of Queen Elizabeth.

Payments to the guard were £500 in arrears at the end of two months and the king apparently required 2,000 merks to cover the charge; it was hoped that Elizabeth would ‘not deny to relieve him with that sum, if [Bowes] shall acquaint her majesty with the king’s request and the necessity of the cause’.¹⁴¹ Bowes was again asked, at the end of January 1583, for a £500 loan towards the pay of the guard. He reported that ‘no excuse will serve to content them without money. For they alledge that the king cannot retain his guard without some help for their present pay, and if the guard shall be discharged in this perilous time, that thereon a sudden alteration will certainly

¹³⁷ Moysie, *Memoirs*, 40.

¹³⁸ Bowes, *Correspondence*, cxvii.

¹³⁹ Stewart seems to have served within a military capacity on the continent for several years before returning to Scotland around 1580. He played a major role in the removal of the king from the Ruthven administration and seems to have gained the king’s favour as a result. Stewart was granted the lands and commendatorship of Pittenweem, was admitted as a member of the privy council. Due to close connections with Denmark he was frequently involved in the Danish marriage preparations. After rocky relations with the crown in the early 1590s he was restored to his lands of Pittenweem and was granted the lands of Houston. He died sometime prior to 1605: *SP*, vii, 64-8.

¹⁴⁰ Bowes, *Correspondence*, cxxx.

¹⁴¹ Bowes, *Correspondence*, cl.

issue, to the great advantage of the French, and danger of the king, and the course'.¹⁴² Walsingham approved a month's pay to be delivered to the king's foot and horse guard in May.¹⁴³

Negotiations similar to these occurred frequently throughout James's reign. The Scottish royal coffers were in constant need of financial assistance from their wealthier neighbour to the south. The Scots were unremitting in their requests, which were usually accompanied by reminders of the king's blood ties to Queen Elizabeth, the friendly relationship between the two countries, and also, on occasion, the implied threat that Scotland might re-establish its ties to France. The English often complained but capitulated in the end, although the amount given was usually less than the Scots wanted. It was reported in June 1583 that, lacking pay, a number of the guards were beginning to leave even though their captain, Colonel William Stewart, had promised that payment, both future and owing, would be addressed at an upcoming convention. If not, the half of the guard that still remained would have to be cashiered.¹⁴⁴

The role of benefactress and advisor seems to have been one enjoyed by Queen Elizabeth. She was able to influence Scottish politics to quite a degree through giving and withholding of financial assistance as well as the implication that, if he behaved himself according to her wishes, he might be chosen as her successor. The benevolent cousin and concerned queen attitude is apparent in a letter written in June 1586:

We have in consideration hereof determined to make some further demonstration towards you as to our dearest brother and cousin, ... considering that God has endowed we with a crown that yields more yearly profit to us than we understand yours does to you, by reason of the dissipation and evil government thereof of longtime before your birth we have lately sent to you a portion meet for your own private use, though not so large as our mind would yield, but yet such as the time at this present permits us to do... Your most assured sister and cousin.¹⁴⁵

Because of financial constraints, changes were made to the king's household, throughout the reign, in an attempt to deal with abuses and inefficiency. The situation

¹⁴² Bowes, *Correspondence*, clxii.

¹⁴³ Calderwood, viii, appendix: 240.

¹⁴⁴ Bowes, *Correspondence*, ccxix.

¹⁴⁵ Adv. MS 33.1.7, no.3, fo.12.

in the king's chamber was the subject of a report in December 1588 in which it was stated that, with the current number of valets in the chamber, the king's service had been neglected or overlooked as each valet trusted the other to do it. The king's linens, and other items ordinarily kept within the coffer of his chamber, had been lost and put away because no one person was responsible for them. The remedy was to appoint one of the valets, John Gibb, as the only keeper of the keys of the coffer in the king's chamber and furnishing of the king's person within the chamber, and he alone was to be accountable to the king, or whomever the king should appoint to receive the accounts. In case of absence, Gibb was given the power to deliver the keys to whichever chamber valet he thought fit but was to be held accountable and answerable for all things received by that person.¹⁴⁶

Household 1590-1603

Several changes occurred within the royal household following the marriage of James and Anna of Denmark. No longer could Scotland content itself with the male-dominated court of a bachelor king and his young cronies. Within four years of his marriage, the bachelor king had become a family king. As will be seen, not only was a separate household established for the queen, but establishments were needed for the royal children. One of the most important changes to the court, following the arrival of the queen, was that a number of noblewomen suddenly found important positions at court in their own right.

Marriage to Anna of Denmark

James faced the problem that has plagued all single monarchs throughout the ages, the choice of a spouse. A search for a bride had been in progress since the late-1570s although more active negotiations began in the mid-1580s. The primary candidates were narrowed down to the sister of Henry of Navarre, Princess Catherine of Bourbon, and Princess Anna, the younger daughter of Frederick II of Denmark.¹⁴⁷

¹⁴⁶ P.S1/58, fo.82v.

¹⁴⁷ Anna's elder sister had been the original Danish choice, but when the Scottish ambassadors for the marriage returned, she was unavailable.

The Scottish nobles and burghs were divided over which avenue to follow. On the one hand, Chancellor Maitland and a majority of the nobility supported a French marriage, as this would have been very much in keeping with the Auld Alliance and the marriages of James's grandfather, James V. Nothing materialised as James was unable to provide the military assistance requested by Henry, and Henry would not provide the substantial dowry wanted by James. The Danish marriage, on the other hand, was strongly favoured by Edinburgh and the other Scottish towns because of advantageous trade relations. Relations with Denmark, a Protestant country, would provide strong trade links that were unencumbered by the constant threat of religious wars. Dowry and trade issues aside, age was likely a factor in James's final choice; Catherine was eight years his senior, Anna was eight years his junior. Not surprisingly, he chose the younger, beautiful and very Protestant princess.¹⁴⁸ Years later, James informed Prince Henry that in choosing a wife the three principal accessories to be looked for were 'beauty, riches, and friendship by allie, which are all blessings of God'.¹⁴⁹ In this instance, the king seems to have followed his own advice quite well.

Negotiations became strained when the Danes refused to give in to James's exorbitant demands, which included a dowry of £1,000,000 Scots, concessions to Scottish merchants, military and naval assistance against invasion and relinquishing their ancient claim to the Orkneys. James on the other hand would only agree to settle 'a handsome property', of an undisclosed value, on Anna. The Queen Mother, Sophia, who wanted the opportunity to provide Anna's trousseau and wedding, salvaged the marriage negotiations.¹⁵⁰

Apart from the constant negotiations associated with marriage treaties, a problem arose as to the readiness and acceptability of the king's properties to receive a wife. In relation to the state of preparedness in Scotland for a royal bride, Fowler reported:

[the king] has neither plate nor stuff to furnish one of his little half-built houses, which are in great decay and ruin. His plate is not worth £100, he has only two or three rich jewels, his saddles are of plain

¹⁴⁸ Willson, *James VI & I*, 85-7; D. Stevenson, *Scotland's Last Royal Wedding: The Marriage of James VI and Anne of Denmark* (Edinburgh, 1997), 1-16; Donaldson, *Scotland*, 185-6.

¹⁴⁹ James VI, *Basilicon Doron*, 126-8.

¹⁵⁰ Willson, *James VI & I*, 87; Stevenson, *Royal Wedding*, 20.

cloth. He is served with six or seven dishes of meat but eats but of two;
no bread but of oats, and cares not of what apparel.¹⁵¹

This hardly appears to be a court prepared to welcome a bride accustomed to the finer things in life, or any bride for that matter.

In a letter from Denmark in April 1589 it was reported that Anna had spent the last several days preparing for her marriage and stating that with the number of ambassadors, noblemen and ladies travelling and all the ‘princely affairs’, no queen had ever been transported to Scotland in such style. It was also hoped that the king’s ambassadors would arrive in the best form, well arrayed in clothing and decorations, and with good ships.¹⁵²

The Earl Marischal, Lord Dingwall (constable of Dundee), Sir James Scrymgeour of Dudhope, Mr John Skene, Mr George Young and other knights and gentlemen embarked from Leith on 18 June 1589 for Denmark in order to finalise the marriage contract. Their route took them towards Norway in order to avoid any possible hindrance by Queen Elizabeth. Shortly thereafter, Colonel Stewart embarked from Aberdeen with a commission to the ambassador to perform the marriage, which took place by proxy on 20 August.¹⁵³

A taxation of £1,000 had been received from the estates and given to the earl and his entourage in preparation for the journey, which ‘he did verrie magnificklie’. Furthermore, the privy council granted a subsidy of £100,000 for defraying of the costs of the embassy.¹⁵⁴ Sir David Lindsay of Edzell contributed his part, £3 15s, of the ‘payment of the great taxation uplifted for the sustaining of the honourable charges of the king’s majestie’s marriage’, documented by a receipt, dated 27 March 1589, from the messenger who collected it.¹⁵⁵

Many plans had been undertaken in Denmark in preparation for the young queen’s departure for her newly adopted country. Included in these was the furnishing of 16 ships, three of them ‘most princely apparelled’ and four to carry horses and equipment. Rumours abounded about the richness of the apparel, jewels, and furnishings, not only for the ladies, but also the horses and coaches, upon which

¹⁵¹ Willson, *James VI & I*, 88.

¹⁵² ACC 9769 (Crawford Muniments), 14/7/35.

¹⁵³ Calderwood, v, 59; Johnston, *History*, fo.594v.

¹⁵⁴ J. Spottiswood, *The History of the Church and State of Scotland* (London, 1677), 4th edition, 376.

¹⁵⁵ ACC 9769 (personal papers of Sir David Lindsay of Edzell, Lord Edzell), F II 28.

more than 500 tailors and embroiderers had been working for three months. As for similar preparations in Scotland, it was reported that James was 'repairing and augmenting his house at Edinburgh, but other provision is there none: all spoiled and decayed'.¹⁵⁶

James made an attempt to oversee the preparations for his bride's arrival. In August, he came to Edinburgh to oversee the manner in which Holyroodhouse was decorated for his bride's arrival. He did not stay long, however, as he immediately rode to Hamilton to hunt. Colonel Stewart, who arrived in Leith on 28 August and rode directly to Stirling, informed the king the marriage had been solemnized, whereupon James departed straight away for Edinburgh to see that everything was in preparation and fitted his expectations.¹⁵⁷ On 14 or 15 September 1589, Lord Dingwall returned from Denmark, arriving at Stenhouse with the news that he had accompanied the queen's fleet for 300 miles but had been separated from them by a great storm, and was fearful for the queen's safety. The sudden winter storm had driven the queen's ship towards the Norwegian coast.¹⁵⁸

James remained at Seton, awaiting the queen's coming, for 16 or 17 days whilst Colonel Stewart was directed to Norway to discover word of the queen's situation. After Stewart's arrival in Norway, Anna dispatched an ambassador to Scotland¹⁵⁹ who described the great storm and danger to the queen and her company and suggested that some Scottish ships could be directed to Norway to convey the queen onwards. James ordered ships prepared and on 16 October three ships departed, followed two days later by two more.¹⁶⁰ The commissioners en-route to Norway included George, Earl Marischal, Sir John Maitland of Thirlestane (chancellor and secretary), Sir Lewis Bellenden of Auchnoule (justice clerk), Robert Douglas, provost of Lincluden (collector general), Sir Patrick Vaus of Barnbarroch, John Carmichael of that Ilk (warden of the West Marches), Sir William Keith (master of the king's wardrobe) and Peter Young of Seton (almoner) with a selection of other gentlemen of the king's chamber, household servants and other subjects. Due to the

¹⁵⁶ *CSP Scot.*, x, no.141; Willson, *James VI & I*, 87; Stevenson gives the number at 300 tailors and embroiderers: Stevenson, *Royal Wedding*, 20.

¹⁵⁷ Moysie, *Memoirs*, 78.

¹⁵⁸ Johnston, *History*, fo.595r. Her convoy was discovered only three days and three nights later at which time the queen's ship was found taking on water.

¹⁵⁹ Colonel Stewart departed from Leith on 29 September. Anna's ambassador arrived in Leith on 10 October.

¹⁶⁰ Johnston, *History*, fo.595v; Moysie, *Memoirs*, 79.

special nature of this journey, all of the above were granted a number of privileges, liberties and immunities to encourage their participation in this journey.¹⁶¹

James wrote to the English ambassador, William Ashby, on 22 October 1589, the day of his departure, that he planned to go to Norway to collect his bride, expected only a brief journey, and that Queen Elizabeth would not cause any hindrance to his travels as she had approved of the match from the start.¹⁶² The king departed from Leith that evening accompanied by the chancellor, Alexander Lindsay, Sir William Keith, the justice clerk, the provost of Glenclydden, the laird of Barnbarroch, the laird of Carmichael, John Skene, and a host of other barons and gentlemen, totalling 300 people in all, sailing in a caravan of five well-furnished ships.¹⁶³ Before his departure, James constituted the young duke of Lennox as ‘president’ and Francis, Earl Bothwell as his lieutenant to oversee the affairs of Scotland. They were to remain in Edinburgh until James’s return and do nothing without the advise of the council.¹⁶⁴ Six or seven days later, the king landed on the Norwegian island of Flekkerøy,¹⁶⁵ where he and his company remained until 8 November when he departed ‘to long sond’ and the next morning began his journey to Tønsberg, where he remained until 17 November. It has been suggested that James ‘resided at the mansion of Jarlsberg Hovegaard, an ancient royal residence about half a mile from Tønsberg’, although the Danish Account claims that the king stayed at Jørgen Lauritsen’s house for six nights, and that he attended worship in the Marien Kirke on 16 November. The king and his entourage arrived in Oslo two days later.¹⁶⁶

Upon arrival in Oslo, James immediately sought out his queen, committing the double offence of wearing his travel boots and kissing her (the Scottish fashion of greeting), the latter which she refused as it was not the way of her country.¹⁶⁷ James and Anna were married by David Lindsay on 23 November; the ceremony, at Akershus Festning, was followed by a banquet of ‘the best forme they could for the

¹⁶¹ *Papers Relative to Marriage*, appendix i: 6; Stevenson, *Royal Wedding*, 33.

¹⁶² GD.149/265, fo.11r.

¹⁶³ Moysie, *Memoirs*, 79-80; Calderwood, v, 67; Sir W. Sanderson, *A Compleat History of the Lives and Reigns of Mary Queen of Scotland, and of her son and successor, James the Sixth, King of Scotland* (London, 1656), 152.

¹⁶⁴ Johnston, *History*, fos.595v-96r; Stevenson, *Royal Wedding*, 32.

¹⁶⁵ This island is off the southern coast of Norway, near Kristiansand.

¹⁶⁶ Johnston, *History*, fos.595v-96r; Stevenson, *Royal Wedding*, 34.

¹⁶⁷ Moysie, *Memoirs*, 80-1; Stevenson, *Royal Wedding*, 35.

tyme',¹⁶⁸ 'with great triumphs' and to the 'comfort of baith the pairties'. On 25 November 1589, the king and privy councillors heard the story of the journey from the king's ambassadors to Denmark: Earl Marischal; the king's cousin Andrew, Lord Dingwall; his councillor, James Scrymgeour of Dudhope, constable of Dundee; Mr John Skene, advocate; and Mr George Young, archdean of St Andrews.¹⁶⁹ The justice clerk was directed to King Christian, Anna's brother, once the marriage was solemnized in order to arrange James and Anna's travel plans.¹⁷⁰

The ships which had transported the king and his entourage to Norway returned to Leith on 15 December 1589 with Colonel Stewart, Lord Dingwall, the laird of Barnbarroch and several other Scots from Denmark. By Yuletide, the king and queen of Scotland, with their entire entourage, Scots and Danes, were travelling by land through the Swedish borders toward Denmark, where they were honourably received on 1 January. Interestingly, due to the fact that Denmark and Sweden were at war, they were convoyed through the Swedish territory by the king of Sweden's brother who was accompanied by 800 footmen and 200 horsemen.¹⁷¹

In mid-March 1590, the king's master of works, William Schaw, left Denmark with many directions from the king asking his nobility to make sure the ships appointed by the burghs were prepared to transport himself and the queen home, to complete, promptly, the preparations at Holyroodhouse as well as the castles of Stirling and Linlithgow, and to have all things in readiness for his homecoming, which was expected in April.¹⁷² Towards the end of the month, Colonel Stewart sailed for Denmark to meet the king, accompanied by two or three ships, and with the other ships appointed to follow later.¹⁷³

From the moment the marriage had been considered until the journey that brought James and his queen back to Scotland, plans had been taking shape to prepare Scotland and the royal residences for a queen's arrival. In June 1589, James sent a message to the chancellor instructing him to deliver the sum of £10,000 to the Earl Marischal; another £1,000 to the comptroller for furnishing the king's house; £5,000 to Sir William Keith, master of the wardrobe; £1,000 to the treasurer depute; and

¹⁶⁸ Moysie, *Memoirs*, 81.

¹⁶⁹ *Papers Relative to Marriage*, appendix i: 7-9.

¹⁷⁰ Johnston, *History*, fos.595v-96r; Stevenson, *Royal Wedding*, 32.

¹⁷¹ Johnston, *History*, fo.596r.

¹⁷² Johnston, *History*, fo.597r.

¹⁷³ Moysie, *Memoirs*, 81-2.

finally £1,240 to the horsemen for their pay (for May 1589). He requested an additional £840 for the guard in June, which had been decreased to 30 horsemen,¹⁷⁴ 3,500 merks to the master of works, and finally, that £50 be given to Sir Andrew Keith, Lord Dingwall, for a Swedish man.¹⁷⁵ James then directed Roger Aston to London in late August 1589 in order to procure ‘things necessary for the marriage’, likely household niceties that a male-dominated court was undoubtedly lacking.¹⁷⁶

After the marriage had been solemnized, preparations were stepped up for the expected arrival of the queen. In a letter from James to the laird of Arbuthnot, dated 30 August 1589, the king stated that he must employ the ‘goodwill of our loving subjects of best affection and ability’ and therefore desired that Arbuthnot deliver to the master of the larder as much ‘fatt beif and muttoun on fute, vyld foullis, and vennysoun or vyn stuff meitt’ as possible for the entertainment of the queen’s entourage.¹⁷⁷ The first request came to nothing, due to the non-arrival of the queen and the subsequent departure of the king himself. James sent another letter to Arbuthnot, on 11 May 1590, requesting the support of whatever ‘stuff and provision’ he had or was able to procure, according to the king’s former letters, to be delivered to Andrew Melville, master household, by 18 May.¹⁷⁸ James sent a similar letter to Sir Patrick Vaus of Barnbarroch, in late August 1589, requesting assistance preparing for the queen’s arrival and the entertainment of her entourage:

we mon employe the guidwill of our loving subjectis, of best affectioun and habilitie; and therefore eirnistlie and effectuouslie desyris you, that ye will send hither to the help of the honorable charges to be maid in this actioun, sic quantitie of fatt beif and muttoun on fute, wyld foulis and vennysoun, or uther stuff meit for this purpois, as possiblie ye may provyde and furneis of your awin ... and exped the same heir with all diligence ... and delyver it to oure servitor Walter Neische, Maister of oure Lardiner, quhome we have appointit to resave the same.¹⁷⁹

James further requested that Barnbarroch attend at Holyroodhouse, or wherever the king and queen would be located, accompanied ‘with na gryte number but ane certane of your honest freindis and servandis maist habill, and of best equippage, that hes na

¹⁷⁴ Although their May numbers are not given, it is probable that they numbered about 50.

¹⁷⁵ ACC 9769, 12/2/11.

¹⁷⁶ CSP Scot., x, no.201.

¹⁷⁷ Adv. MS 20.5.7, fo.86.

¹⁷⁸ Adv. MS 20.5.7, fo.88.

¹⁷⁹ *Papers Relative to Marriage*, appendix i: 3.

quarrell'.¹⁸⁰ Provisioning a banquet by ordering his nobles to provide the food seems to have been the most popular means of royal entertaining. That the nobles, many of whom were possessed of more ready cash than the king, were to provide necessary foodstuffs is not surprising, and it goes a long way in explaining how the apparently penurious Scottish court was able to hold sumptuous banquets.

Detailed arrangements were made for the arrival of the king and queen. It had been claimed, in mid-October 1589, that the abbey was well mended and prepared for the marriage, and that great preparations had been made by the nobility and others.¹⁸¹ This was obviously not the case, as additional funds were required to repair Holyroodhouse Palace. On 14 March 1590, the town of Edinburgh received a warrant for delivery of £1,000 to William Schaw for reparations needed on the palace. They apparently still owed this amount as part of the earlier taxation of £20,000 that had been granted by the burghs. Sir James Chisholm of Dundorn, one of the king's master households, had been appointed to receive the sum originally for the charges and expenses sustained by the Danish commissioners and their entourage.¹⁸² What should be noted here is that most of the work being undertaken was to 'repair' the king's lodgings to make them suitable for a queen. Reparations themselves were a burden to the royal coffers; any attempt to modernize or beautify the Scottish royal palaces would have been financially impossible. The ability to provide for a queen had been questioned in March 1589 by an English spy: 'I see not how a queen can be here maintained, for there is not enough to maintain the King'.¹⁸³ In August 1589, a report was sent to Lord Burghley stating:

Surelie Scotland was never in wourse state to receave a Quene then at this present, for there is nether house in repaire but all most ruinous and want furniture; and the tyme so shorte as this defect cannot be healped if she come before winter which is looked for.¹⁸⁴

Several days later, these concerns were expressed again: 'Her coming is so sudden that none of the King's houses can be fit to receive her; he must borrow Dalkeith, which is the nighest fair house to Edinburgh, for the Queen to stay in'.¹⁸⁵ The

¹⁸⁰ *Papers Relative to Marriage*, appendix i: 4.

¹⁸¹ Moysie, *Memoirs*, 79.

¹⁸² *Papers Relative to Marriage*, appendix i: 10.

¹⁸³ *CSP Scot.*, x, no.10.

¹⁸⁴ *CSP Scot.*, x, no.175.

¹⁸⁵ *CSP Scot.*, x, no.199.

situation seems to have progressively deteriorated: '[the king] knows not which way to turn, having no house ready to receive the Queen, nor his subjects willing to contribute towards her maintenance and that of her train'.¹⁸⁶

It was hoped, by James, that the work begun in Holyroodhouse would be completed before his arrival and that the new gallery quarter of the palace, the bishop of Orkney's house, and Lady Gowrie's house would be prepared for the lodging and entertainment of the visiting Danish commissioners and gentlemen. Kinloch's house was to be prepared as overflow accommodation. James then assigned specific Scottish nobles to the lodgings to ensure that the guests were properly entertained: the new gallery was the realm of the chancellor, assisted by the earl of Rothes, the justice clerk, Lord Newbattle, the collector general, the comptroller and the laird of Carmichael; the bishop of Orkney's house was overseen by the Earl Bothwell and assisted by the earl of Angus, Lord Seton, the laird of Cowdenknowes, Sir Robert Melville, the prior of Blantyre and the constable of Dundee; the Earl Marischal was assigned to Lady Gowrie's house along with the earl of Morton, master of Glamis, Lord Halties, and the lairds of Tullibardine, Ormiston, and Barnbarroch; and Kinloch's house was to be supervised by the comptroller, in the king's name.¹⁸⁷ These houses, and their chambers, were to be hung, bedded and plenished by the above-named people with all necessary provisions to be awaiting the visitors' arrival.¹⁸⁸

The king sent instructions detailing the manner in which he wanted the queen's initial reception to follow to his privy council through Schaw on return to Scotland. These required the duke of Lennox, Lord Hamilton, and the earls of Bothwell and Mar to meet the king at his landing, followed by the lords of session and the officers of state, and then the provost, baillies, and council of Edinburgh 'in their honestest array'. The countess of Mar, Ladies Seton and Thirlestane and others were to be awaiting the queen's landing. The towns of Edinburgh, Leith and the Canongate were to be 'in armes' and lined along both sides of the road between Leith and Holyroodhouse, 'to hald of the preis'.¹⁸⁹ The Earl Bothwell, as admiral, was to prepare the boats then to pass with them to receive their majesties. The ships were

¹⁸⁶ *CSP Scot.*, x, no.201.

¹⁸⁷ *Papers Relative to Marriage*, 31.

¹⁸⁸ *Papers Relative to Marriage*, 32-3.

¹⁸⁹ *Papers Relative to Marriage*, 29.

then to shoot off a volley, to be answered the castle with three great shots, no more. A further volley was to be made from the Leith shore as the king and queen approached the land.¹⁹⁰ Existing drafts of letters arranging the reception detail the planning that went into a royal reception. An 'honourable' reception and convoy from Leith to Holyroodhouse required that the ranking Scottish nobles (the drafts specified about 16 earls) each to furnish a horse, velvet foot mantle, and one of his own servants to be ready to attend the king's travelling entourage, of whom the Danish visitors would be entertained upon the king's expenses. Approximately 20 similar requests were drafted to important lords and commendators.¹⁹¹

The laird of Carmichael, the master of the king's guard, had his own exceedingly long, and varied, list of directions from the absent king. These included a request for a standing guard for the king of 100 horsemen and 100 footmen, that the Flemish sugar confectioner have ready all confections and sweet meats, 5,000 merks to be given to James Chisholm for the housing of the visiting Danes, to ensure that only selected members of the nobility were present at the queen's landing, to prepare Thomas Lindsay's house for the visitors, to proclaim that the Danes be treated with 'a good countenance', that the king's hounds be 'sent for to put in breath', that the king's horse be prepared for his arrival along with boots and socks for the king himself, to nominate gentlemen to wait and serve in every house used by the visitors, and that spears be made 'to run at the ringe',¹⁹² presumably in the abbey close, which had been set up as a tiltyard in 1579.¹⁹³

The Danish ambassadors who travelled to Scotland with the young queen began their return journey on 26 May 1590. Before their departure, Lennox, Lord Hamilton and the earl of Mar, along with other noblemen, dined with them in their ships, and propined them with chains, plate and jewels worth 13,000 or 14,000 crowns. In addition to the traditional departure gifts, seven or eight tuns of wine, ale, beef, bread and mutton were delivered to their ships. Upon the ambassadors'

¹⁹⁰ *Papers Relative to Marriage*, 30.

¹⁹¹ GD.149/265, fo.45r.

¹⁹² *CSP Scot.*, x, no.370.

¹⁹³ See M. Lynch, 'Court Ceremony and Ritual During the Personal Reign of James VI' in Goodare and Lynch (eds.), *The Reign of James VI*, 71-92.

departure only 16 persons from the Danish entourage were said to have remained to serve the queen.¹⁹⁴

Creation of Anna's Scottish Household

Perhaps the most important preparations for Anna's arrival included the creation of her royal household. The queen required an entirely new and separate household, smaller than her husband's but developed along the same principles, albeit with a large number of gentlewomen and serving women. To provide for these needs James began appointing servants for the queen before her arrival, although it was not until Anna herself could take an active role that the household began to grow and take on her own characteristics.

James felt it necessary that some royal servitors be appointed, in advance of the queen's arrival, to serve her in Scotland, and began this task before departing for Denmark. Luckily for the well-meaning king, his bride was delayed and was not in need of Scottish retainers until May 1590, which meant that James had nearly eight additional months to appoint her household, which he did even while overseas. The first servitors were chosen in the autumn of 1589, many of whom already performed the same duties for the king. These early servitors were David Beaton of Melgund (master household and comptroller), John Livingston of Abercorn (first master stabler), John Bannatyne (master glover), Mr William Fowler (secretary depute, and poet), James Boag (master porter), Mr David Morton (usher of the outer chamber door), William Baxter (usher before queen's meat), William Beaton (master embroiderer and *tapisier*), Grissel Hamilton (seamstress), Archibald Mudie (apothecary), Oliver Donaldson (quartermaster), and James Bennett (stable clerk).¹⁹⁵

An entry hidden in an obscure exchequer and rent document provides some interesting information about others among the queen's servants. The entry detailed liveries pertaining to the queen's household that needed to be paid by the king's treasurer.¹⁹⁶ George Epping (queen's server) and Kristoffer Carioth were noted with two servants each, the preacher needed two garments for 'his bairns', the tailor was

¹⁹⁴ Calderwood, v, 98-9; Johnston, *History*, fo.598v.

¹⁹⁵ Appendix 1.

¹⁹⁶ Anna was to have paid her servants, fees and liveries, from her own accounts.

assisted by two boys, the cook was to be given a 'garment of silk' and two 'common garments' while his servant and two boys also needed 'common garments'. The queen was noted with four pages, two lackeys, two people who made the fires in her chamber, two servants who attended upon the 'coische hors', and three 'dannycollis' in her chamber.¹⁹⁷ This leads to an important point regarding the number of servants assisting the queen's servitors and officers. Assuming it was generally accepted that household employees each retained several servitors of their own, the size of the queen's actual household would be twice to three times as large as household lists would suggest.

Fee payments and the distribution of liveries consistently caused problems when servants were omitted from household lists, either accidentally or deliberately. There are many reasons why people may not have appeared in written lists, such as a scribe simply overlooking their name or perhaps the servant was out of favour at the moment the lists were written. Official documents such as the treasurer's and comptroller's accounts are relatively reliable when dealing with payments to long-term household servants but do not include courtiers and servants who held household positions without a specified fee, or who received gifts and favours in return for their employment. For example, one household entry stated that several people had been omitted from the queen's household bill. Prominent among these was Jane Stewart, the mistress of Ochiltree's daughter, one of the queen's gentlewomen servants. Also overlooked were John Elphinstone, who was 'appointed by the queen to eat at the master household's table'; James Ogilvy, the queen's marshal and daily writer of the accounts 'who is necessary for our serving'; William Bell who served at the ladies' table; David Strachan who 'covers the boards'; and the keeper of the hall door.¹⁹⁸

Anna's household and chamber increased only slightly during her reign in Scotland. In the accounts of December 1591,¹⁹⁹ she had eight ladies and gentlewomen in her chamber, only one master household, one master stabler, one gentleman in her chamber, one server, one cupbearer and one carver. By 1596, even if it was an Octavian-inspired list, Anna's establishment had increased to two master

¹⁹⁷ These 'dannycollis' were likely Danish serving women, as the document mentioned that two of them were laundresses. Adv. MS 34.2.17, fo.143.

¹⁹⁸ Adv. MS 34.2.17, fo.17v. The keeper of the hall door who apparently also made the queen's fires, cleaned the hall, had been injured in the arm at Lochmaben in service to the king, and who had attended upon the queen since her arrival in Scotland.

¹⁹⁹ Appendix 2.

households, three master stablers, five gentlemen and 11 gentlewomen of her chamber, along with five gentleman servants. The queen's household contained many of the same officers as that of the king, although hers was developed on a slightly smaller scale. She retained a smaller wardrobe establishment (although she kept the jeweller more active), a smaller kitchen, and smaller stable establishment.

Anna's servants had a tendency to create quite a stir themselves. One of the queen's ladies, Mistress Margaret Vinstarr, was the primary accomplice in the escape of the laird of Logie, one of the king's courtiers and Mistress Margaret's lover, after his imprisonment on suspicion of treason. Anna refused to part with her servant and strongly stood her ground stating that she would 'rather go to Denmark than part with Mistress Margaret or any others her domestic servants'.²⁰⁰ Another trying point between the king and queen was over the queen's Ruthven gentlewomen. After the Gowrie conspiracy of August 1600, James had ordered that all by the name of Ruthven be removed from the court, and Edinburgh. This edict did not sit well with Anna, who had at least two Ruthven ladies, sisters of the slain earl of Gowrie and his brother, as gentlewomen in her chamber. The banishment of the Ruthvens meant that Anna lost her lady-in-waiting, Beatrice Ruthven. Because of this she sulked in her rooms, refused to be dressed without the aid of Beatrice, and told James 'to beware how he treated her for she was not an Earl of Gowrie'. He then tried to woo her by spending 'considerable sums upon a tight-rope dancer in whom she delighted'.²⁰¹ James and his hatred of the Ruthvens prevailed and the queen was without her beloved Beatrice. A few years later, Beatrice was brought into the queen's court by Lady Paisley and the mistress of Angus as one of their gentlewomen. She was taken to a chamber, prepared for her by direction of the queen, where she spent much time in conversation with the queen. James, upon learning of this meeting, reproved the queen, inquired of her servants about other such happenings, then 'secretly' dealt with any problems. A few days later, the king's officers were called to gather in the chapel and sworn 'upon pain of death' to have no contact with any Ruthvens except by direction of the king or queen.²⁰²

²⁰⁰ *CSP Scot.*, x, no.736.

²⁰¹ Willson, *James VI & I*, 130.

²⁰² *CSP Scot.*, xiii, no.891. It is unclear exactly how this was to help, when the queen herself was one of the greatest problems in dealing with Ruthvens.

Anna was very fond of her servants. She made a point of attending the marriage of one of these servitors, the daughter of the king's almoner, Peter Young.²⁰³ She was also very generous with her servitors. One of the queen's ladies, Henrietta Stewart, countess of Huntly, had become close to the queen, and for her service received as a gift from Anna a 'brassiner' set with diamonds valued at 1,500 French crowns.²⁰⁴ The accounts of the queen's jeweller, George Heriot, younger, indicate a large amount of small jewellery items such as rings and earrings.²⁰⁵ Although Anna certainly loved jewels and decorations of any sort, it is likely that a majority of the smaller items, and some specially designed large ones, were distributed as gifts to her gentlewomen and other courtiers.

Much of Anna's time was divided between the residences of Holyroodhouse, her wedding jointure of Dunfermline, Falkland and Dalkeith. Although not owned by the royal family, Dalkeith Palace was one of the king's favourite resting places and one of the most impressive residences in Scotland. The queen's movements can be followed through examination of the household accounts. The only two existing household books belonging to Anna cover a time span of one and a half years: April 1598 to October 1599.²⁰⁶ According to these accounts, Anna resided at Holyroodhouse for four months in the summer of 1598 before moving to Dalkeith for at least three months. When the accounts resumed in May 1599 Anna was back at Holyroodhouse, although she spent most of the following summer at Falkland. She then spent approximately three weeks in Dunfermline before returning to Holyroodhouse for the remainder of the year.

The choice of location for royal births also varied. When the time for the birth of their first child approached, James requested that the delivery take place at Stirling where he spent most of his childhood and where he was crowned as an infant. Anna thus departed on the morning of 27 December 1593 from Holyroodhouse in a 'chariot' bound for Linlithgow, followed shortly by the king, after which they travelled to 'the kallender' and on to Stirling where they remained until the queen's delivery, staying for a time a Lady Mar's lodging 'becaus the castell was not

²⁰³ *CSP Scot.*, xi, no.466.

²⁰⁴ *CSP Scot.*, xiii, no.320.

²⁰⁵ Heriot Acct., assorted folios.

²⁰⁶ Appendix 4.

repairit'.²⁰⁷ The first daughter, Elizabeth, was born two and a half years later at Dunfermline, as were sons Charles and Robert. Margaret's birth occurred at Dalkeith, where James and Anna were resident to celebrate Yule.

Just as all new parents, Anna expressed a wish to keep her children nearby. Conflict between the king and queen over the custody of young Prince Henry manifested itself in a multitude of tantrums thrown by Anna, lasting on-and-off until the move to England. These tantrums were due both to James's insistence upon placing Henry, immediately after his birth in 1594, under the guardianship of the earl of Mar, and the limitations he placed on her right to visit her son. Anna tried again to gain the keeping of her children, this time by attempting to take her daughter, Elizabeth, away from Lord Livingston, going so far as to prepare lodgings at Dunfermline specifically for the children. This attempt also failed, perhaps because it was seen merely as a first step of her primary goal of custody of Henry. The question of the custody of Elizabeth was made more complex by arguments between the Kirk and queen. Scotland's ministers felt it would be detrimental to the young princess to be surrounded by papistry in the form of Catholic Lady Livingston. Anna questioned whether it was better to leave the princess with her Catholic keeper or to place her with Lady Cassillis, 'a lady without all religion'.²⁰⁸

Conflicts over the guardianships of the other children never seem to have arisen to such an extent and Anna seems to have accepted, eventually, their care by others. It is unclear how much time she did spend with her progeny. Charles, sickly and lodged at Dunfermline, would have been the most likely to receive frequent visits from his mother. During the duration of the existing household books, it seems that never once did Anna travel to Linlithgow to visit her daughters (or if she did, it was not a lengthy enough stay to include a meal, as the books list where the queen was for each and every meal of the day). Only in the case of Henry can Anna be seen to attempt, repeatedly, to visit and gain control. Because of this, it would be easy to assume that Anna's concern for Henry was more a political ploy than actual maternal affection.²⁰⁹

²⁰⁷ Johnston, *History*, fo.618v.

²⁰⁸ *CSP Scot.*, xiii, no.730; no.809.

²⁰⁹ Recent work has pointed to the differences between the childhoods of Anna and James in understanding their attitudes toward raising children, in an attempt to soften the image of Anna as a mother. Anna grew up in a close-knit family and was showered with love while James 'had a truly

On the occasions when Anna did move from one residence to another it was no minor feat. James was known to travel from place to place on hunting excursions, at which time he was accompanied by only a handful of servitors and courtiers, with his primary entourage stationed at one of the royal residences. Anna, on the other hand, moved much less frequently, and when she did it was for a greater span of time. Thus when the queen moved she took everything with her; servants, clothes, jewels, furniture, tapestries, her horses and provisions.²¹⁰ This is likely the reason why she rarely ventured further than her four points of Holyroodhouse, Dunfermline, Falkland and Dalkeith.²¹¹ Unlike James, Anna never seems to have displayed a fondness for Stirling, a result, no doubt, of her dislike of the earl of Mar and his mother, the dowager countess.

Anna, like James, was always short of money and ran her household far beyond the meagre means the Scottish coffers allowed. At one point she submitted to the king a list of monthly costs that she could not meet: 50 merks for the linen laundresses; spices for the queen's kitchen;²¹² draught cloths to the wine cellar; and an unspecified amount to [David] Burnebrayes for 'souping' and cleaning of the house and close.²¹³ She seems to have experienced additional financial troubles because the comptroller paid for her household in 1598 although, as stated earlier, a consort normally maintained her own establishment through funds drawn from customars and crown lands and overseen by her steward.²¹⁴

James, not surprisingly, discovered that Anna's household was costing more than his, while Professor Willson pointed out, in typical negative fashion, 'that in obtaining money she possessed a shrewdness remarkable in one so childish'.²¹⁵ In October, 1591 it had been decided between the king and comptroller that the queen should receive from the hands of the provost of Edinburgh, £2,000 for the Martinmas term, and £4,000 for the Whitsunday term, all from the duty of her bridal tocher.²¹⁶

miserable childhood': M.M. Meikle, 'A Meddlesome Princess: Anna of Denmark and Scottish Court Politics, 1589-1603', in Lynch and Goodare (eds.), *Reign of James VI*, 126-40.

²¹⁰ *CSP Scot.*, xiii, no.705.

²¹¹ The significance of Dalkeith as a 'royal residence' will be discussed later.

²¹² The spices included pepper, ginger, saffron, cinnamon, cloves, damson plums, rice, raisins, lard, almonds, salt and olive oil.

²¹³ Adv. MS 34.2.17, fo.21v.

²¹⁴ Murray, 'Comptroller', 56.

²¹⁵ Willson, *James VI & I*, 94-5; Calderwood, v, 459.

²¹⁶ Adv. MS 34.2.17, fo.13r.

The treasurer's accounts noted large amounts of money distributed for Anna's expenditures, primarily her clothing. Much of the queen's expenditure on jewellery, especially to George Heriot, younger, was covered by promissory notes, which the king often repaid himself, or the use of various jewels from the royal collection as collateral. James even gifted Heriot with the Chapel Royal to cover Anna's expenses rather than forcing the queen to relinquish any more of her jewels.²¹⁷

One means available for provisioning the queen's household was to request supplies and services from Scotland's nobles, a tradition that was used repeatedly for grand occasions such as marriages, entries and baptisms. James attempted to provide for his wife's household in such a manner, hoping no doubt to spare himself some of her spiralling expenses. In October 1590, he sent a letter to the laird of Caldwell directing him 'according to the custom observed of old by our most noble progenitors' to send the queen a hackney as transportation for the gentlewomen accompanying her.²¹⁸ There were undoubtedly more demands of this nature since James was never one to pass up what he would have seen as a perfectly legitimate means of provisioning a royal household. If these royal requests were fulfilled is impossible to determine.

James's Household post-1590

The king's own household continued its growth and advancement following his marriage. It could be said that the primary theme of this household period was reform; James was continuously reforming either his household organization or his household finances, rarely to any lasting effect. The most immediate change following his marriage was the limiting of access to the king. Scottish courtiers had been known to walk in upon the king unannounced during his bachelorhood. With the arrival of a queen, and the hope for an heir, access to the king was severely curtailed. Anna herself expressed a wish for James to make his chamber more private, suggesting he follow her example by sometimes allowing liberty of her company for noblemen and others but at other times permitting no one unless they

²¹⁷ Heriot Acct., fos.2, 3, 7, 15.

²¹⁸ ACC 6776, no 1.

were sworn to attend her or of her privy council.²¹⁹ In this instance, Anna was asserting a political role regarding the manner in which the royal household was managed.

James made several attempts to reform his chamber. In March 1590, while still in Denmark, the king reduced the number of gentlemen in his chamber to four, professing frugality.²²⁰ Shortly after his return to Scotland, the primary household officers and councillors gathered to work on the reform of the household and chamber. Starting with the removal of all servitors felt to be suspect, unfit, or unnecessary, they placed only those retainers who were thought 'meet and necessary', albeit in smaller numbers. The chamber was to be served by only four gentlemen and the numbers of appointments in several offices were limited: two each of the master households, cupbearers, carvers and servers.²²¹ James then made an attempt to reform his council, following a suggestion that he choose fewer, and higher calibre, men and that the attendance of unauthorised councillors be halted. This reform was aimed at controlling the participation and pressure of the throng of courtiers hovering about the chamber.²²²

The privilege of lying in the king's chamber was sought after by most courtiers as it permitted the closest contact with the monarch, and it was also a clear signal from the king of his favouritism. The duke of Lennox, as high chamberlain, held the right to sleep in the king's chamber whenever he wished, although it would appear that he rarely did so. In August 1590 Alexander Lindsay, George Home, James Sandilands, and James Beaton, held the honour of lying in the king's chamber and all, with the exception of the page, were highly favoured courtiers.²²³ Another means of determining household ranking is by examining the king's bills of household. The January 1592 bill, for example, listed those who were to sit at the duke of Lennox's table: Lord Spynie, Sir James Sandilands, Sir George Home, James

²¹⁹ *CSP Scot.*, x, no.408.

²²⁰ *CSP Scot.*, x, no.365.

²²¹ *CSP Scot.*, x, no.409. However, an unspecified amount of 'others' were noted to be attending within the chamber in addition to the four gentlemen and the gentlemen servants.

²²² *CSP Scot.*, x, no.496.

²²³ *CSP Scot.*, x, no.458. Lindsay was the favoured Lord Spynie, Home was master of the wardrobe, Sandilands was a gentleman of the chamber, and Beaton was a page of honour.

Lindsay, Roger Aston and the ‘young’ laird of Logie.²²⁴ Again, Spynie, Sandilands and Home were found occupying influential positions at court.

Changes occurred frequently amongst the courtiers holding positions in the king’s household. The most sought-after and influential posts were those of master household, chamberlain depute, master of the wardrobe, captain of the guard, master of the stable, and any position as one of the king’s gentlemen servants.²²⁵ Although some courtiers, such as Sir Thomas Erskine of Gogar and Roger Aston, retained a secure hold on their positions and prestige in the chamber, others fared not so well. A current favourite could quickly become the object of a negative campaign launched by a rival party, as factionalism was rife in the court.²²⁶

While still in Denmark, James dismissed his master of the wardrobe, Sir William Keith, because Keith was reported to have been more richly apparelled at the king’s marriage than the king himself, which offended a number of important courtiers. Keith was replaced by George Home, the son of Alexander Home of Manderston, who retained the office until the move to England.²²⁷ It was suggested by Ambassador Bowes that Keith would recover the king’s favour, and possibly, in time, regain his position in the chamber.²²⁸ English agents in 1594 reported that the chief courtiers of the time were the prior of Blantyre, Sir George Home, Thomas Erskine, and Sir William Keith,²²⁹ suggesting that Keith did return to some prominence within the chamber, although not in his former position. Blantyre and Erskine were classmates of the king, thus it is not surprising that they would have retained a closeness and influence with the king and his court. Erskine, after his heroic efforts to save the king from the Gowrie conspiracy, had reportedly become ‘the only statesman and secretary for secrets’ by April 1601. Spynie had also reclaimed some of his former favour in the court and once again was privileged to lie in the king’s chamber.²³⁰

The loss of servitors and retainers came not only through removal from office; some met violent and tragic ends. One of the king’s master stablers, William Shaw,

²²⁴ Adv. MS 34.2.17, fo.129r. The duke’s table was the highest table apart from that of the king.

²²⁵ Of these positions, that of master household could prove the most financially draining.

²²⁶ A few examples of changes in influential offices are noted here but a more detailed description of favourites is given later in this chapter in the section on Courtiers.

²²⁷ *CSP Scot.*, x, no.386; no.535.

²²⁸ *CSP Scot.*, x, no.409.

²²⁹ *CSP Scot.*, xi, no.201.

²³⁰ *CSP Scot.*, xiii, no.641; no.665.

was killed by Bothwell's accomplices during the earl's attempt to gain the king's presence at Holyroodhouse in late September 1591.²³¹ Feuds that followed nobles from the countryside to court as well as power struggles amongst favoured courtiers were a problem and the king spent much of his time soothing tempers. Calderwood related a story from early in January 1591 that involved the duke of Lennox, Lord Home and the laird of Logie. The quarrel was that Logie, a 'varlett' (valet) in the king's chamber, would not leave at the chamberlain's (Lennox) command and had to be put out by force, for which he upbraided the duke. The event on Edinburgh's High Street was that Lennox and Home, following a space behind the king, 'invaded' the laird, for which action they were discharged from the court, although both were soon back again.²³² In a less violent vein, it was reported in November 1595 that the king was attempting to erase the jealousies between the earl of Mar and the master of Glamis, which in turn would affect the behaviour of their supporting factions.²³³ There were often jealousies between courtiers who held sway in the chamber. English reports from March 1599 suggested that Sir Robert Kerr, Sir George Home, Sir George Elphinstone, and Sir Patrick Murray of Geanies ruled the king. However, a year later, the two Georges, seemingly remiss in their attendance on their monarch, found themselves much disadvantaged by Sir Thomas Erskine and his constant attendance upon the king.²³⁴ It would thus appear that Erskine had been strengthening his position at court, even before the events in Perth.

Chancellor Maitland, especially, found factionalism, jealousies, and the queen's enmity to be severely detrimental not only to his ability to fulfil his obligations as chancellor but also to his position at court. By the summer of 1592, it was reported that he dared not come near court, partly due to a royal command to that effect but also because his enemies at court, namely Lennox, Argyll, Mar, Lord Home, and the master of Glamis, remained about the king at Dalkeith 'gyding all thingis at ther pleaser'. The reason behind Lennox's quarrel with Maitland seems to have been a tauntingly derogatory statement, uttered by the chancellor and aimed at the duke. Thus a great change at court was suggested, in which the duke and his faction removed the king from the influence of the chancellor and the Lindsays, who

²³¹ Birrell, 'Diary', fo.29r.

²³² Calderwood, v, 116-17.

²³³ *CSP Scot.*, xii, no.70.

²³⁴ *CSP Scot.*, xiii, no.347; no.513.

before had held sway.²³⁵ Such conflicts between factions and the resulting shifts in influence at court were common, and the favoured topic of speculation on the parts of the foreign agents.

The events at Perth in August 1600 had a lasting effect on many close to the court: Anna lost one of her ladies-in-waiting and Sir Thomas Erskine strengthened his ties to his sovereign, thus ensuring his personal advancement. What truly happened at Gowrie House will never be known. What is known is that the earl of Gowrie, a handsome young man of about 22 years, had recently returned from six years of study and travel on the Continent and been cordially entertained at Elizabeth's court, and his 19-year-old brother, Alexander, was one of the king's favourites. James was far from welcoming towards Gowrie, had taunted him about his popularity with Elizabeth, and was jealous that Gowrie's entry into Edinburgh had drawn a crowd.²³⁶

Whatever the events and causes, the day ended with the deaths of the two Ruthven brothers. One result of the events at Perth, just as followed Bothwell's raids, was that much emphasis was placed on limiting access to the king. A few of the precautionary measures included a limitation of access not only to the king's chamber but also the right to lie in his house, the barring of back entrances in the house, and a chief gentlemen in the chamber to be assisted by two servitors of the chamber and 24 members of the household to act as nightly guards.²³⁷

Apart from the shifting factions and intrigues of the court and chamber, financing the royal household proved a constant challenge. The imposition in 1590 of an import duty on wine brought the comptroller nearly £5,500 two years later. Other additional funding, which amounted to £9,800 yearly, came out of the 10 per-cent interest on a £98,000 tocher James received on his marriage to Anna which was in turn transformed into compulsory loans for various burghs.²³⁸ In October 1591, the king and comptroller agreed that a portion of the same marriage tocher be used in part to satisfy the debts to Thomas Lindsay and John Balfour,²³⁹ two out of a veritable handful of people to whom the king owed money. Although helpful, these measures

²³⁵ Johnston, *History*, fo.606v.

²³⁶ Willson, *James VI & I*, 127.

²³⁷ *CSP Scot.*, xiii, no.576.

²³⁸ Murray, 'Comptroller', 68; *RPC*, iv, 514; *ER*, xxii, 107, 293.

²³⁹ Adv, MS 34.2.17, fo.13r.

were temporary, aiding the current financial situation rather than addressing the problems at the root of the crisis.

Many avenues were tested in an attempt to supply provisions for the household and to ensure additional funds to fill the crown's coffers. In October 1591 several financial decisions regarding the king's household were decided. In the first article the king's comptroller, David Seton of Parbroath, not wishing to leave his office, agreed to cover the costs of the king's house and stables and pay the officers fees for the year starting November 1591. The comptroller, assisted by the laird of Colluthie, was to oversee the daily accounts of the household for the month of November in order to attempt a reform of abuses. As for the queen, it was decided that she should receive from Edinburgh's provost £2,000 out of the interest on her bridal tocher for the Martinmas term and £4,000 for the Whitsunday term.²⁴⁰

In December 1591, the exchequer examined what money could be squeezed from the king's parks. Holyroodhouse had been feued to the late laird of Balvaird, whose son was ordered to enter as his heir within 40 days so that the king could proceed with a reduction of his title in order to recover the lands. The park, peel and loch of Linlithgow were feued to the late justice clerk for a yearly fee of 100 merks, which was to be employed on the reparation of the palace, for which he had heritable keeping. The Torwood was set in tack to John Drummond for payment of £80 and the same amount set by him in fee and heritage, which he had then resigned in favour of Colonel Stewart. Stirling was in the king's own hands. As for Falkland, it could maintain two herd of cattle and 140 of fed slaughter cows for the larder 'as it did in the queen regent's time', as well as keep the deer and 'meiris'. It was also thought the Torwood could be filled with the king's own hens, cows and oxen for the use of his house. In the case of Holyroodhouse park, once evicted the opinion was to fill it with the king's sheep which needed either to be bought by the comptroller, borrowed from well-affected barons or taken up by escheat as penalties for the king's laws.²⁴¹

The looming prospect of bankruptcy encouraged the king to commence another reform at the end of December 1595. Walter Stewart, commendator of Blantyre, was appointed to manage the king's affairs, repealing any acts of the king himself or his mother that hurt his patrimony. Once again, those officers who found

²⁴⁰ Adv. MS 34.2.17, fos.12v-13v.

²⁴¹ Adv. MS 34.2.17, fos.13v-14r.

themselves without their positions were displeased, although a majority were happy to see the king take ‘such a course as he may live of his own and be served as a king’.²⁴² The reforms took a drastic change of course a few days later. On New Year’s day of 1596 the queen’s council gave the queen 1,000 pound pieces in a purse as a result of the changes she had instituted in her household. She in turn gave 600 of the coins to her husband, asking if his council would give him such a sum. Soon thereafter the king’s comptroller, collector general and treasurer depute demitted their offices.²⁴³ It was then agreed that the queen’s council should put in order the king’s revenues and household affairs.²⁴⁴

By the start of the new year the situation had become so desperate that James appointed a commission of eight men, the Octavians, to reverse the years of damage that poor financial planning and unrealistic living standards had done to Scotland’s royal treasury. Those making up the Octavians included the president of the College of Justice, seven senators of the College of Justice and the king’s master almoner: Alexander Seton, Lord Urquhart; Walter Stewart, commendator of Blantyre (Lord Privy Seal); David Carnegie of Colluthie; John Lindsay, parson of Menmuir (king’s secretary); James Elphinstone of Innernochtie; Thomas Hamilton of Drumcairnie (king’s advocate); John Skene (clerk register); and Peter Young of Seton. To accomplish such a challenge, they were ordered to meet at least twice weekly in a determined location where they would administer the king’s whole rents, maills, duties, farms, ‘cayns’ [penalties], customs, fishings, coalpits, casualties and profits. In practice, they met every afternoon in Edinburgh’s Upper Tolbooth.²⁴⁵

Armed with draconian powers, the king’s consent and the expected assistance of the high chamberlain, the Octavians set about reforming the king’s house. Their goals included reducing the number of people appointed to collect the king’s rents, reducing the superfluous number of servants in the king’s house (of all degrees) and ensuring that the king’s house be supplied by his own lands and means. It was thought that honest and careful officers presently serving in the king’s house could remain, but only if they discharged any unnecessary servants under their command.

²⁴² *CSP Scot.*, xii, no.94.

²⁴³ Calderwood, v, 393-4. The treasurer, the master of Glamis, only resigned his office upon payment of £6,000.

²⁴⁴ *CSP Scot.*, xii, no.102. The queen’s council consisted of the commendators of Blantyre and Pluscardine, the clerk register, Mr John Lindsay, Mr James Elphinstone, and Mr Thomas Hamilton.

²⁴⁵ Calderwood, v, 393-4.

Daily household expenditures were to be monitored by a commissioner and steps were to be taken to reduce fees and pensions in the household. Most importantly, no charges were to be granted through the treasurer unless they were agreed to by at least five of the commissioners.²⁴⁶ The Octavians were quite forthright in their reasons behind many dismissals: David McGill, king's advocate was 'too old and dotes'; the master of Glamis 'somewhat in arrears of his accoumpts'; his deputy, Sir Robert Melville, 'the same, must resign their Treasury to the Prior of Blantyre ere they obtain their *quieti sunt*'.²⁴⁷

Reforming his own household was not enough for James. In late January, before a month had passed under the management of the Octavians, the king requested the earl of Mar to make note of Prince Henry's 'dependours' and reduce any superfluous retainers until his household numbered only seventy people.²⁴⁸ Mar had been asked, around the time of Henry's baptism, for reason of his long-standing friendship with the king, to head a commission to propose financial reforms:

being utterly wearied and ashamed of the misgovernment of the country for lack of concurrence of noblemen.... and of my extreme want ... I am forced to burden you to travail with such noblemen ... that they would bestow their pains and presence for putting me into some better estate.²⁴⁹

Some of those most severely affected by financial constraints included the chief furnishers of the king and queen, Thomas Foulis and Robert Jossie, merchants of Edinburgh, with whom James had amassed large debts in the process of furnishing the royal households in luxury items. Although most household needs were met by the commissioners, it was hoped that other debts, such as those for luxury goods, could be covered by James's pension from Elizabeth of £4,000 (sterling). Thus it was that merchants, such as Foulis and Jossie, suffered the most whenever Elizabeth chose to withhold, or delay, James's annuity.²⁵⁰

Uniformly resented by the king's chamber and courtiers, the Octavians, as such, lasted no more than a year. It has been stated: 'Their retrenchment was so successful that courtiers and aristocracy, and eventually the King himself, conspired

²⁴⁶ *CSP Scot.*, xii, no.111; Johnston, *History*, fo.625v.

²⁴⁷ Sanderson, *A Compleat History*, 187-88.

²⁴⁸ *CSP Scot.*, xii, no.117.

²⁴⁹ G.P.V. Akrigg (ed.), *Letters of James VI* (University of California Press, 1984), no.55; GD.124/10/65.

²⁵⁰ *CSP Scot.*, xii, no.225.

to stop them. Within weeks of their appointment, 70 members of the King's Household were made redundant and the pension list vigorously pruned'.²⁵¹ Those made redundant were likely servants to the main office bearers, or unlisted servitors, as very few obvious changes occurred within the accounts. At the end of their management, the commissioners were absorbed into a new, larger commission of exchequer, dominated by Blantyre, who for a short time had concurrently held the positions of treasurer, comptroller and collector general.²⁵² Disputes, however, continued between the Octavians and the chamber. The former disliked the manner in which James was influenced, detrimentally to his own needs, by the courtiers in the chamber. The latter chaffed under the constraints of the commissioners. The country as a whole was unhappy with both, claiming they and the king were misused by oppressive taxation, new customs and a new, debased silver coinage.²⁵³

Between 1583 and 1596, the silver content of the coinage had been lowered in an attempt to raise more money for the crown. All that it produced was a short-term profit of nearly £100,000 and a corresponding rise in inflation.²⁵⁴ In other words, devaluation was a poor choice for a long-term solution. Surprisingly, in his words of wisdom for Prince Henry, James agreed:

Make your coinzie of fine golde and siluer, and garre the people be payed with substance, and not abused with number; so shall yee enrich the common-weall and keepe a greate pose to the fore, if yee fall in warres or in any streights, for the making it baser will breede your commoditie, but it is not to be used but at great necessitie.²⁵⁵

Of course, rather than take the blame for debasement of the currency, James blamed it on the merchants: 'they are the special cause of the corruption of the coinzie, transporting al our own and bringing in forrayne, upon what price they please to set on it'.²⁵⁶

It has been stated that the king's household in the 1590s was 'frequently maintained from the private means of his officers...and later, in 1599, there was the

²⁵¹ Houston, *James I*, 8.

²⁵² *CSP Scot.*, xii, no.333; Murray, 'Comptroller', 69; *ER*, xxiii; *APS*, iv, 165.

²⁵³ *CSP Scot.*, xiii, no.135.

²⁵⁴ Houston, *James I*, 8; Calderwood, v, 296; see also Goodare, 'Parliamentary Taxation', and Goodare, 'Thomas Foulis and the Scottish Fiscal Crisis of the 1590s' in W.M. Ormrod, R. Bonney and M. Bonney (eds.), *Crises, Revolutions and Self-Sustained Growth: Essays on Fiscal History, c.1130-1830* (Stamford, forthcoming).

²⁵⁵ James VI, *Basilicon Doron*, 90-91.

²⁵⁶ James VI, *Basilicon Doron*, 90.

astounding spectacle of a minister of state absconding in order to avoid the financial ruin that service of the crown entailed. In debt to moneylenders as well as to his own servants, James anticipated revenue, obtained money for one purpose and spent it for another, debased the coinage and robbed the mint'.²⁵⁷ Although the phrasing paints a very negative view of James, the notion that James lived well beyond his immediate financial means is quite correct. Indeed service to the crown, especially the exchequer, was best undertaken by those with large reserves of money. And frequent suppliers of luxury goods to the royal family, such as Foulis, Heriot and Jossie, were consistently owed large sums by the king.

Mundane household activities, such as eating, could also lead to complicated arrangements, especially with regard to money. One household document states that each afternoon meal at the king's table required three pieces of wild fowl and two pints of wine. Those assigned to eat the leftovers of the master household's table were to be allowed an augmentation of three pieces of meat. As for the duke's table, not only was it to include six gentlemen of the king's chamber but also make space for the duchess and her gentlewomen. The household officer's table was crowded with 17 persons, officers and aides. Unfortunately for them, not only was their food allowance inadequate but also they were in need of additional space to seat the aides to the pantry, court kitchen and larder. As for the aides of the vessels and porters of the kitchen, it was doubted they could survive on bread and drink alone, and as they had been given mutton in the past, it was decided they always should have either meat or silver with which to purchase their own portions.²⁵⁸ Other assorted costs seem to have been excluded from the king's daily household account; monthly wages for the king's and court laundresses, spices for the king's and court kitchen, straw and rushes to be placed on the floor of the king's chamber, the fees of the man who cleaned the king's house and close, the stools and rushes he needed to fulfil his duties, and the costs of supplying tubs, barrels, paddles and buckets to the king's and court kitchens.²⁵⁹ All of these costs were necessary, and all an added expense for an already tight budget.

²⁵⁷ Willson, *James VI & I*, 120-1.

²⁵⁸ Adv. MS 34.2.17, fo.17r.

²⁵⁹ Adv. MS 34.2.17, fo.21r.

Sir David Murray of Gospertie, who had acted as master of the king's stable since 1583, assumed the comptrollership in April 1599²⁶⁰ and retained it for nearly nine years. The cost of the royal household in its final five months in Scotland, during Sir David's term, amounted to over £40,000 with an additional £7,600 for wine.²⁶¹ This was partly due to a king who, anticipating a fortune awaiting him in England, real or imagined, spent accordingly. It was also due in part to a natural increase in expenditure of the household; more clothes, more jewels, more imported luxury items, as well as more children to support. This was no doubt expensive and elaborate according to Scottish standards, but on a lesser scale than its European contemporaries. The Scottish royal court was viewed as one of the most penurious in Europe. During the period leading up to Queen Elizabeth's death, conspicuous consumption by James and Anna can be seen as their attempt to portray themselves as the rightful inheritors of the English throne. It can also be interpreted in a more basic manner: the king and queen liked to spend money, regardless of reason.

Thomas Foulis was one of the primary suppliers of the royal households. The arrangements between Foulis and the treasurer to reimburse the former for the provisioning of their majesties' households provide some fascinating insights into the expected costs of a royal residence. The treasurer was to 'sufficiently sustain their Majesties' houses', a generalized requirement that steered away from any unpleasantness associated with naming specific amounts, not forgetting the royal wardrobes which must be provided for 'according to their [majesties'] princely estate'. Easier to budget were the children's establishments: Henry's house in Stirling was to be allocated £5,000 yearly while Princess Elizabeth was to have 10,000 merks. Most importantly the treasurer was to relieve £30,000 of the 'great debt' owed by the king to Foulis and Jossie. A final financial burden was the current treasurer's responsibility for reimbursing the former treasurer, or in this case the treasurer depute, for any superexpenses he sustained while in office.²⁶² In other words, the financial burden carried by the king's treasurer was immense.

Financial burdens and the resulting lack of pay were serious issues with royal retainers. Charge of the guard was reportedly offered to the laird of Carmichael in

²⁶⁰ *RPC*, v, 552-3.

²⁶¹ Murray, 'Comptroller', 71; E.24/24, fo.30.

²⁶² *CSP Scot.*, xiii, no.95.

May 1591 but delayed due to a lack of funds to retain a guard.²⁶³ Calderwood related a story, which likely occurred late in 1591, in which the soldiers of the king's guard, unhappy at not having received their wages, took the chancellor's trunks and coffers (he was on his way to Glasgow) from the horses into the guardhouse until Carmichael, master of the guard, made a solemn promise they would be paid.²⁶⁴ A strong guard was supposedly kept around the king during the time that Bothwell was running wild. This guard, it was reported, was divided into three segments of 50 horsemen, under the commands of Lord Home, the laird of Cessford and Sir Robert Hepburn of Markhill, and a segment of 50 'other men' captained by John Home of Huttonhall.²⁶⁵

If money was not forthcoming to pay for a guard, the king seemed content to command his nobles to create a guard. On 6 February 1593, the king ordered all barons of Lothian to assemble in three days to contribute to the king's guard.²⁶⁶ By August, another option was discussed in which a guard, under the command of the duke of Lennox, was levied of 100 footmen and 50 horsemen and paid for by a number of courtiers. In the end only 100 footmen could be raised, and it was thought the entire company would be disbanded soon thereafter.²⁶⁷

A year later, James looked to Edinburgh for taking up a guard. On 1 April 1594 the king commanded the drum beaten and trumpet blown 'for taiking up a guarde of foure cornets of horsemen, and four hundreth footmen,' apparently to 'keepe the courteours heads unbrokin', the courtiers being the chancellor, Lord Home and Sir George Home.²⁶⁸ If neither the courtiers nor the town could provide a guard, the king's own domestic servitors stepped into the breach. In December 1598, it was reported that a number of the nobility, meeting with the king to discuss changes in the size of the privy council, found the king's house guarded by the 'domestics in warlike manner to keep out the great back and followers of the nobility'.²⁶⁹

Apart from conflicts in the chamber and financial difficulties, there existed the ever-present disapproving gaze of the kirk. Ministers frequently complained of

²⁶³ *CSP Scot.*, x, no.569.

²⁶⁴ Calderwood, v, 146; *CSP Scot.*, x, no.662.

²⁶⁵ Johnston, *History*, fo.619(2)r.

²⁶⁶ Calderwood, v, 222.

²⁶⁷ *CSP Scot.*, xi, no.114.

²⁶⁸ Calderwood, v, 295. More information on a guard provided by the inhabitants of Edinburgh is found in the chapter on Edinburgh and the court.

²⁶⁹ *CSP Scot.*, xiii, no.279.

offences committed within the king's house, namely that 'the reading of the Word at table' and saying grace before and after meals were often omitted. It was claimed that 'his Majestie is blotted with banning and swearing, which is over commoun in courteurs also, and moved by their exemple'. Furthermore, it was wished that murderers, papists and 'profane persons' be removed from the king's presence. Neither did the queen escape their regard. Her offences included a ministry that should be reformed [i.e. a Lutheran pastor], hearing neither the Word nor Sacraments often enough, 'night-waking, balling, &c., and siclyke concerning her gentle weomen'.²⁷⁰ The ministry was also displeased with what Calderwood called 'the commoun corruptions of all estats within this realme':

superstitioun and idolatrie is interteaned, which uttereth itself in keeping of festivall dayes, bonfires, pilgrimages, singing of carrolls at Yuille ... Profanatioun of the Sabboth, and specialle in seed-tyme and harvest, and commoun journeying on the Sabboth, and trysting, and worldlie turnes, exercising all kinde of wantoun games, keeping of mercats, dancing, drinking, and siclyke.²⁷¹

In other words, all activities commonly associated with a royal court, and specifically the accusations against James and his courtiers of drinking and gaming, were seen as evil by Scotland's ministers.

The last 13 years of his residency in Scotland saw the king developing an increasingly elaborate court. This was aided in no small part by the introduction of a Scottish queen, one that was accustomed to the finer things in life. Politically, courtiers were able to curry favour from both the king and queen, as two households provided two means of advancement at court. Financially, expenditures steadily increased although, apart from Anna's tocher, income decreased. Stylistically, as will be seen in the following chapter, expenditure on the luxury items, such as jewellery and clothing, increased. Perhaps the most important change was the appearance of a royal nursery and the security of a healthy male heir to the throne.

²⁷⁰ Calderwood, v, 409. Alan MacDonald claims that Calderwood was in Edinburgh from 1590 to 1595, studying for his MA at Edinburgh University, and was again in Edinburgh from May 1597 to the summer of 1601: A.R. MacDonald, 'David Calderwood: The not so hidden years, 1590-1604', *SHR*, lxxiv (1995), 69-74.

²⁷¹ Calderwood, v, 410.

Children's Establishments

Author and novelist Antonia Fraser states that Anna's 'strong Scandinavian blood had evidently thickened the febrile trickle of the Stuarts',²⁷² providing Scotland with something it hadn't seen in over a century, several surviving royal children. For all the rumours bandied about by historians and novelists that James was homosexual, it must be remembered that he and his wife ably fulfilled their duty to the country by producing heirs, and doing it often. Although Anna suffered through a couple of miscarriages, she provided James with five children during her time in Scotland. The fact that two of these royal children died in infancy is sad and unfortunate but Anna, nevertheless, was more fortunate in the strength and sturdiness of her brood than any of her recent royal predecessors.

Prince Henry

James and Anna's first son, Henry Frederick, named in honour of his two grandfathers, Frederick II of Denmark and Henry Stewart, Lord Darnley, was born in the early morning of Tuesday, 19 February 1594 in the king's chamber at Stirling Castle.²⁷³ James apparently ordered that an old oak cradle in which he himself had been rocked to sleep be brought for the use of his child as well as having his former nurse installed as head of the nursery and his former governess placed in charge.²⁷⁴ Following the practice of his own childhood, Henry's custody was granted to the earl of Mar who was assisted by the 'continual and vigilant' care of that 'venerable and noble matron', the dowager countess of Mar, his mother, who was given chief charge of the young prince.²⁷⁵ There is no question that Dame Annabelle Murray, the dowager countess, held a prominent position in young Henry's household, just as she did with James. The role of Helen Little, the mistress nurse of whom the king was exceedingly fond, is unknown, as she does not appear in any records related to Henry. The likely scenario was that James's wished to surround his son with the same people

²⁷² A. Fraser, *King James VI of Scotland, I of England* (London, 1974), 53.

²⁷³ Johnston, *History*, fo.619v; Adv. MS 31.7.5, 19 Feb 1594; Calderwood, v, 293; E.C. Williams, *Anne of Denmark. Wife of James VI of Scotland: James I of England* (London, 1970), 47.

²⁷⁴ Williams, *Anne of Denmark*, 47.

²⁷⁵ Adv. MS 33.7.14 (life of Henry Frederick, prince of Wales), fo.5v; GD.124/10/63/1 (Commission to the earl and countess of Mar his mother for keeping of the prince of Scotland Henry 1594).

with whom he was raised, meaning the Erskines and others who served in the royal nursery.

The placement of the young prince in the care of the Erskines created some tense moments between James and Anna. James was following recent tradition, and a strong belief in the safety of his son with Mar, whilst Anna reacted like any mother who wanted her child kept nearby, and fell into a fit of weeping, storming and raging when James remained adamant.²⁷⁶ James, knowing how difficult life could be as a political pawn, placed Henry in Mar's care because 'his infant, he knew, to be safe in Mar's keeping and though he doubted nothing of her [Anna] good intentions yet if some faction got strong enough, she could not hinder his boy being used against him, as he himself had been against his unfortunate mother'.²⁷⁷ The custody battle over Henry threw Anna into the 'murky depths' of political manoeuvring at court, causing a lasting feud with Mar and temporarily healing her rift with Maitland, whom it was thought, suggested that the prince be kept at Edinburgh Castle under the captaincy of Sir Walter Scott of Buccleuch.²⁷⁸ The importance of the custody and care of the young prince led James to grant a special licence to Mar, his servants and dependants 'to remane and byde at hame fra oure present hoiste and raid' against the rebels in 1594.²⁷⁹ James further ensured the security of his son in a letter to the earl of Mar, dated 24 July 1595, in which he stated:

Because in the surety of my son consists my surety ... therefore shall be a warrant unto you not to deliver him out of your hands except I command you with my own mouth, and being in such company as I myself shall best like of--otherwise not to deliver him for any charge or message that can come from me. And, in case God call me at any time, that neither for Queen nor Estates' pleasure ye deliver him till he be eighteen years of age and that he command you himself.²⁸⁰

Immediately after the prince's birth, a new dining arrangement was organised which would be served out of the court kitchen. The first new table, erected 19 February 1594, was that of the 'dames of honour' where sat the dowager countess of Mar, the countess of Mar (Marie Stewart, Ludovick's sister), the countess of Morton

²⁷⁶ Williams, *Anne of Denmark*, 53.

²⁷⁷ Williams, *Anne of Denmark*, 54; R. Strong, *Henry Prince of Wales and England's Lost Renaissance* (London, 1986), 14.

²⁷⁸ Calderwood, v, 365; Williams, *Anne of Denmark*, 53, 56.

²⁷⁹ GD.124/10/66.

²⁸⁰ Akrigg, *Letters*, no.58; GD.124/10/70.

(Agnes Leslie), Magdalene Livingston, Lady Scrimgeour of Dudhope (the constable of Dundee's wife), Elizabeth Shaw, Lady Abercairny, Eleanor Hay, Lady Cambuskenneth, Margaret Livingston, Lady Bellenden of Broughton (the wife of the late justice clerk), and Lady Clackmannan.²⁸¹ Appointed to serve this table were James Ogilvie, marshal; David Lennox, usher, and his aide; two servants of 'old' Lady Mar's; one servant of 'young' Lady Mar; one servant each from the pantry, wine cellar and ale cellar; and four servers. Another table was that of the mistress nurse, also erected 19 February, at which sat the mistress nurse, the four rockers,²⁸² Barbara Murray (the keeper of the prince's coffer and cloths), and Elizabeth Abercrombie (seamstress). After this came the doctors' and mediciners' table, erected 10 February, at which sat Dr Martin Schoner, Mr Gilbert Moncrieff, Gilbert Primrose (surgeon), Alexander Barclay (apothecary) and their four servants. Finally came the table of the midwife and her assistants, which was erected 8 February.²⁸³ Most of these people were noted as servitors of the young prince, or of the royal family as a whole, although from the 'dames of honour' list, only the dowager countess and countess of Mar took an active role in Prince Henry's childhood.

Around the age of five or six, Henry was removed from the 'softening' influence of women and assigned a tutor, Mr Adam Newton, to begin the grounds of his learning. Newton, a Greek scholar, skilled Latinist and linguist, had taught in France in the 1580s and was appointed as tutor to the young prince about 1600.²⁸⁴ It had also been decided that 'divers of good sort' should be appointed to attend upon the prince's person, the chief of whom was the earl of Mar, together with Sir David Murray, first and only gentleman of his bedchamber to lie therein, and assisted by sundry lords, barons, knights and gentlemen. Murray and Newton together oversaw the prince's rigorous training in the arts, exercises and graces of royalty.²⁸⁵

Between the ages of seven and nine Henry began to delight in more active and 'manlike' exercises: learning to ride, sing, dance, leap, shoot the long bow, and to toss

²⁸¹ Appendix 1 & 3 for more information on both the household organisations and tables of the royal children.

²⁸² Margaret Kinross, Jonet Bruce, Margaret Cunningham, and Helen Stewart.

²⁸³ GD.124/10/67/1; Appendix 3.

²⁸⁴ Adv. MS 33.7.14, fo.6r; J.W. Williamson, *The Myth of the Conqueror. Prince Henry Stuart: A Study of 17th Century Personation* (New York, 1978), 4; Strong, *Lost Renaissance*, 27-8. In 1605 he received, as a reward, the deanery of Durham and in 1610 became the prince's secretary.

²⁸⁵ Williamson, *Myth*, 11. Murray remained as the first gentleman of Henry's bedchamber until Henry's death.

his pike. It was said that he wonderfully performed all of this to the admiration of all, and with a princely grace that seemed unbelievable to foreign nations who had not seen it for themselves.²⁸⁶ It was also at this time that the first sparks of piety, majesty and gravity began to show themselves, along with displays of mild and gentle behaviour.²⁸⁷ As the young prince grew, his love of warlike activities was often remarked upon. It was reported that no music was as pleasant to him as the ‘bounding’ of the trumpet, the beating of the drum, the roaring of the ‘cannon’, and no sight so acceptable as that of ‘peries’, pistols, or any type of armour. The firing of the cannon was particularly enjoyable to him, and the master gunners so delighted in entertaining the young prince that the excessive use of shot and powder threatened to deplete precious supplies and create a drain on the treasury.²⁸⁸ Possibly around 1601, Sir Richard Preston, one of the king’s gentlemen of the bedchamber (and future Lord Dingwall), was appointed to instruct the young prince in the use of arms.²⁸⁹ His love of armour and military trappings is evident in the various portraits painted of Henry by artists in England.

Henry’s eventual household establishment was a miniature version of those of his parents. In April 1596, Mar was instructed to pay the fees of the following servants of the prince: four rockers, the keeper of the coffer, the seamstress, the laundress, David Lennox, Sir William Laing, Alexander Cook and Robert Murray.²⁹⁰ Ordinary fees in the prince’s household included those to the master household, ‘old’ Lady Mar, the master almoner, the steward, two servants to Lady Jane, four rockers, the laundress, the prince’s master cook, the foreman in the prince’s kitchen, a pastry chef, servants in the ale cellar and pantry, one in the cup house, a porter, and a keeper of the silver vessels and coal.²⁹¹ It is likely that ‘Lady Jane’ (the only form in which she was ever addressed) was Mistress Jean Drummond who retired in 1617 as ‘governess to the king’s children’ and later appeared as the governess of Henry’s short-lived brother Robert.²⁹² In addition to Mar’s household ordinance, Henry was assigned a chamberlain, a pedagogue, an usher and at least two valets in his chamber,

²⁸⁶ Adv. MS 33.7.14, fo.6v.

²⁸⁷ Adv. MS 33.7.14, fo.7r.

²⁸⁸ Williamson, *Myth*, 12; Adv. MS 33.7.14, fo.6r.

²⁸⁹ Strong, *Lost Renaissance*, 66.

²⁹⁰ GD.124/10/71.

²⁹¹ GD.124/10/68 (ordinaris of my lord prince house).

²⁹² *SP*, vii, 47-8; Appendix 1.

a wardrobe master, master tailor, embroiderer, sword slipper, laundress, principal mediciner, nurse, master hunter, a palfrenier, master flesher, larder keeper, spice house master, wine cellar master, and wax furnisher.²⁹³ Henry likely had cupbearers, carvers, servers and gentlemen of the bedchamber (in addition to Sir David Murray), but these people did not receive fees from the various extant household accounts. An account for January 1603 showed that the earl of Mar received a payment of £2,500 for ‘support of the charges sustained by him in entertainment of the prince grace’.²⁹⁴ What is not clear is the period of time covered by this payment, although it was most likely a payment for the expenses of the prince incurred over the past year.

The prince did have a master of the wardrobe in his establishment, the first of whom was Patrick, master of Gray, who received a ‘little coffer to contain the prince’s cloths’ in August 1595,²⁹⁵ a post which was later filled by Sir David Murray. Murray travelled south with the prince upon the accession and received a number of elevations from keeper of the privy purse to groom of the stool and gentleman of the robes.²⁹⁶ In addition to Newton and Murray, Walter Quin attended the prince from his childhood in the Mar household until Henry’s death. Quin, like Newton, seems to have been recommended to royal service because of academic distinction.²⁹⁷ Like his father, Henry showed signs of affection and loyalty toward childhood servitors, such as his wet-nurse, Margaret, and her husband James Primrose, who were granted a pension for life. Their son, the prince’s ‘foster brother’, Archibald Primrose, was made a page of honour in the 1610 household and said to have been always ‘of high esteeme with him’.²⁹⁸

The move of the royal family from Scotland to England rekindled the animosities, which had been simmering for the past several years, between Anna, James and the earl of Mar. Henry adopted the role of catalyst in the troubles between his parents when he wrote to his mother:

seing by his Ma:teis departing I will lose that benefite quhich I had by
his frequent visitation, I mon humblie request your Ma: to supplie that

²⁹³ Appendix 1.

²⁹⁴ E.21/76, fo.226r.

²⁹⁵ E.21/70, fo.170r.

²⁹⁶ Strong, *Lost Renaissance*, 27-8.

²⁹⁷ T.V. Wilks, ‘The Court Culture of Prince Henry and His Circle, 1603-1613’ (D.Phil., Oxford, 1987), 29.

²⁹⁸ F. Osborne, *The Secret History of the Court of James the first* (Edinburgh, 1811), I, 267; Wilks, ‘Prince Henry’, 30.

inlaik by your presence, quhich I have the more iust cause to crave,
that I haue wanted it so lang to my great greif and displeasure.²⁹⁹

Anna, who had renewed her petitions for custody of Henry in the spring of 1600 but was forced to subside due to pregnancy,³⁰⁰ was encouraged by this letter to attempt once more to gain custody of her eldest son. She wished for Henry to accompany her to England and travelled to Stirling to collect him, conveniently after Mar departed southward with the king. Mar's countess and son, left in charge of the young prince, refused to hand Henry over to his mother, which caused Anna to fall into a fit of hysterics and brought about a subsequent miscarriage.³⁰¹ To settle the matter, James wrote to Anna declaring his love while reaffirming Mar's duty, but he did send Lennox to take custody of Henry then accompany both the prince and his mother to England.³⁰² Anna, Henry and Lennox departed Stirling on Friday 27 May for Linlithgow and arrived in Edinburgh the following evening. The following Tuesday, the queen and prince rode in a coach from Holyroodhouse to St Giles's, an occasion which brought out the inhabitants of Edinburgh. The next day the queen, prince and duke, accompanied by several nobles, began their journey toward England. Princess Elizabeth had been ill the night before so she stayed in Scotland for two additional days before following her mother.³⁰³

Upon arrival in England, Henry's court and household grew remarkably. Henry's expenditures were £3,660 (sterling) in 1604-5 (higher than his Scottish expenditure) and rose to an enormous £35,765 (sterling) in 1610-11 once he had come of age.³⁰⁴ The Mar household, in which Henry had been raised, formed the nucleus of the Scottish portion of Henry's circle. The earl's cousin, Sir Thomas Erskine, not only held an enviable position in James's household, but was also in attendance at Henry's, and was confirmed as a gentleman of his privy chamber in 1610.³⁰⁵ Henry, along with his mother, provided the strongest incentives for the development of the visual arts in England through the patronage of Myrtens, van Somers, van Mierevelt

²⁹⁹ Williamson, *Myth*, 19.

³⁰⁰ Williamson, *Myth*, 17.

³⁰¹ Adv. MS 33.1.1, no 3, fo.6r.

³⁰² M. Lee, Jr., *Great Britain's Solomon: James VI & I in his Three Kingdoms* (Urbana & Chicago, 1990), 108.

³⁰³ Calderwood, vi, 231-2.

³⁰⁴ Houston, *James I*, 15.

³⁰⁵ Wilks, 'Prince Henry', 28.

and Isaac Oliver.³⁰⁶ The prince's tutor, Sir Charles Cornwallis, described Henry as 'of a comely, middle stature, about five feet and eight inches high, of a strong, straight, well-made body (as if nature in him had showed all her cunning), with somewhat broad shoulders and a small waist, of an amiable majestic countenance, with hair of an auburn colour, long-faced and broad forehead, a piercing grave eye, a most gracious smile, with a terrible frown, courteous, loving and affable'. He continued by stating that Henry 'delighted in martial sports, tossing the pike, shooting with the bow or pistols, leaping and vaulting, tilting and riding at the ring. He trained himself to endure the privations of the soldier, and was fascinated by all the strategy and tactics of military and naval operations'.³⁰⁷ This description fits well with that of Henry as a child, and shows an interesting disparity between the interests of this young prince, and those of his father at the same age, although James did enjoy tilting and riding at the ring.

Henry died in the evening of 6 November 1612 of typhoid fever. His father was not present at his passing, as James, exceedingly upset by the imminent death of his son, had removed himself to Theobalds. It was reported that Henry's last words were 'Where is my dear sister?',³⁰⁸ pointing to an exceptionally close relationship shared by James's two eldest children.

Princesses Elizabeth & Margaret

Elizabeth and Margaret's household was not designed along the same lines as that of their brother. Henry was the heir to the Scottish throne, and more importantly, the heir to an anticipated English throne. Therefore the development of a formal household structure was necessary as it could provide the basis for Henry's future adult court. The girls were viewed much differently; they were entrusted into the care of the earl of Livingston and his wife, suspected papists, and housed at Linlithgow Palace.³⁰⁹ On account of his keeping of the young princesses, Lord Livingston was

³⁰⁶ Houston, *James I*, 112-13.

³⁰⁷ Willson, *James VI & I*, 280.

³⁰⁸ Willson, *James VI & I*, 285; R.K. Marshall, *The Winter Queen: The Life of Elizabeth of Bohemia 1596-1662* (Edinburgh, 1998), 31.

³⁰⁹ Andrew, 7th Lord Livingston was the nephew of Marie Livingston, one of Mary, queen of Scots' four Maries, and his wife, Eleanor Hay, was the daughter of the 8th earl of Errol.

exempted from all raids, wars, gatherings, assizes, or inquests, as was the case for the earl of Mar.³¹⁰

The king's second child, and first daughter, was born at Dunfermline on 19 August 1596 and named Elizabeth in honour of the English queen.³¹¹ Apparently James was so absorbed in his struggles with the Protestant ministers that he gave little attention to the new princess, nor did the ministers of Edinburgh offer any congratulations on her birth, as they were too busy attacking the king for his treatment of the Reverend David Black.³¹² The young princess was placed with the Livingstons when only a few weeks old, much to the displeasure of the ministers who objected to the princess being raised by the papist Lady Livingston. The second royal daughter, Margaret, was born in Dalkeith on 24 December 1598 and sent, soon after her birth, to live with her sister.³¹³ Lady Livingston apparently proved to be an excellent guardian, showing patience and affection for the young princesses and ensuring that Elizabeth, and for a short time Margaret, resided happily at Linlithgow Palace.³¹⁴ High expectations were not placed on them at an early age and thus all they required in household servants were those to attend to their daily needs.

Both girls had either a nurse or rockers from their infancy. Two women, Elizabeth Auchmowtie and Bessie McDowall, were noted as nurses for young Elizabeth, while two rockers, Marion Hepburn and Christiane Scrimgeour, appeared as rockers of an infant Margaret. It has been stated that when Elizabeth departed for Linlithgow Palace she was accompanied by her wet-nurse, the above-mentioned Bessie, a mistress nurse, Alison Hay, and her keeper of coffers, Elizabeth Hay.³¹⁵ Elizabeth, as the eldest daughter, was granted an usher of her chamber door, John Fairnie, who likely acted more as the princess's personal bodyguard as well as a bodyguard for Margaret, for the short period in which she lived. Margaret was noted as having a laundress, Marion Boag, although no laundress was noted for her older sister. It is possible that Marion was already the laundress for Elizabeth and her name never appeared in accounts until Margaret's birth. Elizabeth had her own tailor, Peter Sanderson, who had previously served as tailor to her mother, and who also provided

³¹⁰ *SP*, v, 444.

³¹¹ Calderwood, v, 438; Johnston, *History*, fo.626v.

³¹² Williams, *Anne of Denmark*, 59.

³¹³ E.21/72, transcript, p.100; *CSP Scot.*, xiii, no.290.

³¹⁴ Williams, *Anne of Denmark*, 60.

³¹⁵ Marshall, *Winter Queen*, 19.

clothing for Lady Margaret. Interestingly, Margaret seems to have had her own provider of sugar candies, Thomas Burnett, although again, he undoubtedly provided candies to both royal daughters.³¹⁶

Margaret seems to have become ill in December 1599 as Alexander Barclay, the royal apothecary, was reimbursed for certain oils, unguents and emplasters delivered to the royal surgeon, John Naysmith, for the use of the princess. Barclay was again paid in March 1600 for drugs that were sent to the ‘princess in Linlithgow’.³¹⁷ The young princess retained some semblance of health as furnishings for gowns were sent for both Elizabeth and Margaret in May and June.³¹⁸ Accounts for the month of August 1600 include payments to Mr Martin Schoner and John Naysmith for the ‘imbalming of lady Margaret second daughter of Scotland after her decease’ and several payments to Alexander Barclay for oils, unguents, medications and fine powders necessary both during the ‘time of her disease’ and for her embalming.³¹⁹ Margaret died sometime between 14 and 21 August, the exact date being difficult to decipher due to the frenzy of events surrounding the king’s recent escape from the Gowrie conspiracy.³²⁰

Located within William Fraser’s *Memorials of the Montgomeries* is a document entitled ‘Account of Expenses at Court, 1603’.³²¹ The entry gives no name as to whom these expenses belonged nor any documentation as to where it was found. From an examination of the places visited, some of the people named, and the types of items purchased, the logical conclusion is that this was an account of the young Princess Elizabeth on her journey to England. In England she was placed in the care of Lord and Lady Harrington at Combe Abbey near Coventry. She had received a total of £80 16s 10d³²² between the time of her arriving in England and ‘my Lords’ coming to St James’s Palace. This sum included £20 from Sir James Sandilands and £27 15s 6d from Lady Glenterran. One of the expenditures included 4s for 10 quarters of taffeta to be a scarf on 9 June 1603 in Newcastle. In York she spent 6d to mend her coffer, 2s 6d for a pair of shoes, 12d to wash her clothes, and 5s for two pairs of

³¹⁶ Appendix 1.

³¹⁷ E.21/73, fos.98v, 117r.

³¹⁸ E.21/73, fo.137r; E.21/74, fo.38v.

³¹⁹ E.21/74, fos.49r, 51v.

³²⁰ *CSP Scot.*, xiii, no.539, no.542.

³²¹ W. Fraser, *Memorials of the Montgomeries* (Edinburgh, 1859), ii, (#204) 245-51.

³²² All of the amounts from this document are given in pounds sterling.

gloves. In Leicester she had a white ‘setting’ gown. In Windsor she expended 10s on a ‘corldit’ wire to wear on her head and 30s on a tiara of pearls. In Oatlands she spent 42s for six yards of linen and a dozen yards of fine ‘lesing’ to put on her ruffs. Further expenditures include 10s to ‘my Lady Harrington’s man when she sent me a petticoat’, 5s on a wire to wear with a French ruff, and 3s for three wires to wear with English ruffs. She also gave 10s to Lady Harrington’s coachman when she went to Hampton Court, and 5s more when she arrived at Kingston. Assorted clothing expenditures were made for a pair of velvet ‘panttones’; a farthingale covered with taffeta; six pairs of shoes; six laces to lace her gowns; two masks and two skins to line them; a beaver hat with a feather and string; two fans, one of paper and the other of parchment; and three yards of silver ‘sepyrs’ to the shoulders of her gowns.

The princess’s headwear was quite intriguing, according to the account. In addition to wires and a pearl tiara, she included payments for a silk ‘tyre’ and a plain piked wire, covered with hair, a wire with nine pikes and a ‘pereuyk’ of hair to cover it, and a French wire with a hoop of hair. The account included expenditures for making a variety of ‘dresings’: one of emeralds (her own), pearls and feathers; one of pearls, garnets and feathers (the pearls and garnets her own); one of pearls, green silk and feathers; two earrings with ten rubies; a ring with a ‘puntit’ diamond; and a pair of embroidered gloves. More mundane items included a quire³²³ of gilt paper, a quire of ‘piltane’ paper, pens and ink, a bible, a French book, a French New Testament with another French book, and two drinking glasses, one of crystal. She seems to have been very generous with her hostess’s servants giving 10s to Lady Killdeer’s footman and 5s to her wagon man for carrying her saddle.

Other expenditures which would point to her identity as the royal princess included money given to James Duncan’s man when he brought her gowns from Winchester to Nonsuch, to the man that kept the prince’s silver work for lending her silver work and to the man that kept the ‘naiprie’ for lending some to her when they were at the prince’s court, to James Livingston when she sent him to court, to Lady Harrington’s footman when he brought letters from court, and to the ‘caryer for bringing me two gowns from court’. She also gave many gifts to favoured servants which included a ring with a ruby to the man that taught her to dance, a ring with a

³²³ Four sheets of parchment folded together to make eight leaves: *Chambers*, 1356.

turquoise to the man that taught her to write, four earrings given at New Year's Day to Lady Harrington's women, an English ruff given to Lady Anne Campbell's woman, 5s to the usher of the princess's 'present' [i.e. presence chamber], and a pair of silk stockings that she gave to one of Lord Harrington's men when he 'troue me to his vallentyne'.

The account provides a fascinating look at the life of a young royal princess, who, if the date on the document is correct, would only have been seven years old, seemingly a very young age to be separated from your parents and family. Educationally, Harrington was told by James to instruct his daughter in religion, history and general science rather than making her a Greek and Latin scholar as he had been.³²⁴ Her household at Combe Abbey included her mistress nurse, Alison Hay, as well as a new French lady's maid, a physician, footmen and a laundress, chamber women and grooms, along with masters of writing, dancing, French, Italian and music.³²⁵ Lord Harrington provided Elizabeth with a companion in the person of his niece, Anne Dudley, with whom Elizabeth made a lasting friendship.³²⁶ Elizabeth, given her own apartments at Hampton Court and Whitehall, came to live at court in 1608, still under Harrington's supervision, where she enjoyed outings with her brother Henry.³²⁷

It has been recounted that James, when greeting Anna and Elizabeth near Windsor upon their arrival from Scotland, asked a courtier 'if he did not think his Annie looked passing well; and my little Bessy too is not an ill-faured wench and may outshine her mother one of these days', then lifted his daughter into his arms and kissed her.³²⁸ As a young girl, Elizabeth was described as 'a most attractive and endearing creature; graceful, athletic and playful, spontaneous and high-spirited, prettily impulsive, generous and affectionate', and possessed of an engaging charm.³²⁹ Elizabeth apparently resembled her father, with a long, oval face, dark hair, large nose, and large eyes, whilst Henry resembled their mother.

James chose to strengthen his ties to Protestant European royalty by marrying his daughter to Frederick V, Elector Palatine and the nominal head of the Protestant

³²⁴ Willson, *James VI & I*, 282.

³²⁵ Marshall, *Winter Queen*, 25.

³²⁶ Marshall, *Winter Queen*, 25.

³²⁷ Willson, *James VI & I*, 282; Marshall, *Winter Queen*, 26.

³²⁸ Willson, *James VI & I*, 165; Marshall, *Winter Queen*, 23.

³²⁹ Willson, *James VI & I*, 281.

Union. The teenage groom had a very impressive pedigree: he was the grandson of William the Silent, leader of the Dutch Revolt, related to the elector of Brandenburg and the king of Sweden (both Lutherans), and the duc de Bouillon, leader of the French Calvinists.³³⁰ James could not have found a stronger Protestant alliance for his only daughter. Anna, on the other hand, was reportedly furious that her daughter was not engaged to marry a king.³³¹ Elizabeth and Frederick were married in the chapel royal at Whitehall on St Valentine's Day, 1613, following which the court participated in a week of 'elaborate, tedious, poorly managed and grossly extravagant' festivities.³³² James saw his daughter for the last time when, two months after the wedding, he and Anna accompanied the young couple as far as Rochester on their return journey to Germany.³³³

Princes Charles and Robert

Anna was pregnant with her fourth child at the time of the Gowrie conspiracy. James, incensed with all Ruthvens, dismissed Anna's lady-in-waiting, Beatrice, which action prompted Anna to lay motionless in bed for two days, refusing to speak, eat or be dressed unless Beatrice was there to attend her. James, fearing another miscarriage, hired a French acrobat to entertain her and raise her spirits.³³⁴ Dunfermline palace, Anna's favourite residence, was in the process of being restored when Anna declared it fit for habitation and moved in to await the birth of fourth child.³³⁵ Great preparations were reported for the anticipated birth: 'nurses, rockers, midwives and other officers of forty or more'.³³⁶ Unfortunately, no records survive to state either the final number of servitors or their names. Several of the preparations for the arrival of the young prince included the provision of fine linen for the prince's shirts, diapers, serviettes and bed sheets, fine Holland cloth to be aprons and over-shirts, a cradle and timber stand for it, stools for the rockers, as well as blankets, sheets and finely pierced twill mats for the mistress nurse and mistress rocker. Other preparations for the

³³⁰ Houston, *James I*, 71.

³³¹ Marshall, *Winter Queen*, 31.

³³² Willson, *James VI & I*, 286.

³³³ Marshall, *Winter Queen*, 34.

³³⁴ Williams, *Anne of Denmark*, 63; Melville, *Diary*, 327.

³³⁵ Williams, *Anne of Denmark*, 65.

³³⁶ Williams, *Anne of Denmark*, 65.

delivery included beds for Dr Martin Schoner, his assistant, Janet Kinloch and Jerome Bowie's wife for a month, beds for the mistress nurse, the mistress rocker and Elizabeth Abercrombie for six weeks, a bed for 'the Danish woman' for 10 weeks and two beds nightly for the four embroiderers that 'wrocht her majesties bed in Dunfermline'.³³⁷

Charles, duke of Albany, marquis of Ormont, earl of Ross, and future king of England was born at Dunfermline on 19 November 1600, coincidentally on the same day that the carcasses of the earl of Gowrie and his brother were dismembered.³³⁸ James, rushing to Dunfermline to see his wife and son, found the two of them so desperately ill that he rewarded the midwife, Janet Kinloch, with the sum of £26 13s 4d from his own hand.³³⁹ A month later, the young prince was taken to Holyroodhouse and christened Charles, for both his father's first Christian name and for his great-uncle, Charles, earl of Lennox.

Charles was entrusted to the care of Alexander Seton, Lord Fyvie, although it was not until April 1603 that the privy council decreed 'the charge of the education of the duke of Albany' be committed to Lord Fyvie.³⁴⁰ It was said that both Fyvie and his wife proved to be kind and understanding with the 'very silent, melancholy baby' who had difficulties standing and walking due to weak legs.³⁴¹ The duties as the guardian of one of the royal children could not have been as easy for Fyvie as it was for Livingston and Mar. Fyvie's first wife, Lillias Drummond, daughter of the 3rd Lord Drummond, died in Dalgety on 8 May 1601, after providing him with five children. He then married Grissel Leslie, daughter of the master of Rothes, only five months later. She died in September 1606 after providing Fyvie, by then earl of Dunfermline, with three more children.³⁴²

At the end of April 1603 he wrote to the king informing him of the health of 'that precious jowell...your majesties nobill issue and sone Duc Charles'. Upon the departure of the royal family for England, Charles had been ill and unable to

³³⁷ E.21/74, fos.76r-78v.

³³⁸ Adv. MS 31.7.5 (D. Moysie, 'Memoirs of the affairs of Scotland' 1577-1603), fo.156v; Calderwood, vi, 100; W.W. Seton, 'The Early Years of Henry Frederick Prince of Wales, and Charles, Duke of Albany', *SHR*, xiii (1916), 371.

³³⁹ E.21/74, fo.74v; Williams, *Anne of Denmark*, 66.

³⁴⁰ Seton, 'Early Years', 369; *RPC*, vi, 556. Fyvie had been conferred with the office of constable of Dunfermline Palace in 1596

³⁴¹ Williams, *Anne of Denmark*, 66.

³⁴² *SP*, iii, 369-73.

accompany his parents. Fyvie assured James that Charles was ‘for the present at bettir health far then he was...eats, drinks, and usis all naturall functions as wee wald wiss’ the only problem being that he wasn’t sleeping soundly through the night. Fyvie finished the letter by stating that Charles ‘luikis als statlie, and bearis als greate ane majestie in his countenance as could be requirit off onye prence albeit four tymis above his age’.³⁴³ That was high praise for a child who was only three years old.

Charles was always a weak and sickly child. The royal apothecary, Alexander Barclay, was reimbursed in May 1601 for drugs and medications furnished for the use of the queen and her son the duke of Albany.³⁴⁴ At the end of the year, Charles’s mistress nurse, Margaret Stewart, was given a payment of £1,000 for her service, which was designated as a remembrance of the king’s good will to her.³⁴⁵ This was very likely the same woman noted as Dame Margaret Stewart, Lady Ochiltree whose significant role in the royal nursery is made clear from the gift to her by the privy council of a yearly pension during the reign of Charles I:

Dame Margaret Stewart Ladie Ochiltrie, producit a gift of a yeirlye pensioun of sevin hundreth merkis money of this realm grantit unto hir be the late king for hir carefull and duetifull attendance upoun the late Queene and thair royall childreene in thair young and tender aige; haveing servit the late Queen the space of threttene yeirs from hir arrivall in this kingdome till hir removeall to England and haveing had the charge and credit of Ladie Margaret till sho wes twentie foure weekis of aige and of Duke Robert till the houre of his decease and of the Kingis Majestie till he wes twa yeiris and ane half that by warrand from the Queene he was delyverit to the late Earle of Dunfermline.³⁴⁶

Margaret was the daughter of Henry Stewart, Lord Methven, and wife of Andrew Stewart, master of Ochiltree, and although he died in 1578 it is thought that Margaret retained the title of Lady Ochiltree. Lady Ochiltree, who died in 1627, served the queen from the time of Anna’s arrival in Scotland and was praised for ‘her carefull and duetifull attendance upon the late queene and thair royal childreene in thair young and tender aige’.³⁴⁷

³⁴³ Adv. MS 33.1.1, no.9.

³⁴⁴ E.21/74, fo.122r.

³⁴⁵ E.21/76, fo.89v.

³⁴⁶ Seton, ‘Early Years’, 369-70 [*RPC*, 2nd series, I, *Acta*, March 1625-Jan 1628, fo.90].

³⁴⁷ *SP*, vi, 166-68, 514-15. Note: Andrew, 3rd Lord Ochiltree, was married to Margaret Kennedy, daughter of Sir John Kennedy of Blairquhan.

In addition to a mistress nurse, young Charles had a royal governess, noted in accounts as mistress Jean Drummond. She was one of the queen's ladies of the bedchamber as well as the sister of Alexander Seton's first wife, Lillias. Her double connections as a servitor of the queen and the sister-in-law of the young prince's guardian provide ample evidence as to why she was chosen as Charles's governess. More importantly, it appears that she acted as governess to more than just Charles as she was granted £3,000 in 1617 at her retirement as 'governess to the king's children'.³⁴⁸ Because of this grant it seems likely that Jean Drummond was the 'Lady Jane' who appears in accounts relative to the household of an infant Prince Henry.

It was stated that Fyvie 'keeped [Charles] in the house three years and carried him into England himselfe, by land, to the King and Queen's Majesties, well and in health; for which faithfull service the King's majestie was thankfull to him'.³⁴⁹ Preparations for the move of the young prince from Scotland to his family in England began in June 1604 when warrants were issued to pay 'to the President of the Session in Scotland £500 for charges of bringing the King's son, Duke Charles, to England', and to pay 'the chargis for the provision of litters with their attendants for the conveyance of Duke Charles to England'. Doctor Henry Atkins arrived at Dunfermline on 3 July and wrote that they planned to begin the journey to England on 17 July although it appears not to have taken place until August.³⁵⁰ Several months after his arrival at the English court, Charles, only four years old at the time, was invested as duke of York during Twelfth Night celebrations in 1605. Festivities following the investiture included three days of feasting at court and several other entertainments such as a masque in which his mother performed.³⁵¹ It was said that Charles had developed 'from a delicate child into a healthy though not a robust young man, fond of theatricals and sports, an excellent horseman who delighted in hunting and in riding at the ring'.³⁵² More importantly, Charles outlived his elder brother to become king.

³⁴⁸ *SP*, vii, 48-9.

³⁴⁹ Seton, 'Early Years', 369.

³⁵⁰ Seton, 'Early Years', 372-73 [*CSP Domestic*].

³⁵¹ Lee, *Solomon*, 131.

³⁵² Willson, *James VI & I*, 406.

The king's third son, Robert Bruce, marquis of Wigtown, was born in Dunfermline on 18 January 1602³⁵³ and was the last of the royal children to be born in Scotland. Accounts from January listed a variety of items, such as white serge and red scarlet woollen cloth to be blankets for the infant prince, separate cradle blankets, and mats for the mistress nurse and rocker which were sent to Dunfermline immediately after Robert's birth. As at the birth of Charles, the queen was attended by her physician Martin Schoner and assisted by John Naysmith, both of whom shared a fee of £666 13s 4d.³⁵⁴ In celebration of Robert's birth, the master wright, James Murray, was instructed to buy powder and shoot the ordnance of Edinburgh castle.³⁵⁵

James visited Dunfermline around 20 May 1602 and found his youngest son extremely sick, but it was reported that Robert began improving after a change of nurses. Sadly his recovery was short-lived: he died around noon of 27 May and was quietly buried in the Abbey Kirk of Holyroodhouse two days later.³⁵⁶ Thomas Weir, pewterer, was paid for riding to Dunfermline to provide a lead chest and an oak coffin, the latter which was used for the burial of the young prince.³⁵⁷

Very few records survive which detail any type of household establishment for the young princes apart from the requisite governess, nurses and rockers. Charles likely had a few household retainers that remained about him after his parents and siblings departed for England. Robert's life span was too short for any significant household to develop or even a nursery to be remarked upon. Another difficulty was that both young princes remained at Dunfermline and were therefore in much closer contact with the household of their mother than their royal siblings who were placed in various royal residences under a guardian's care.

Courtiers

James VI's preference for favourites is well documented, in both Scottish and English reigns. It was a predilection that had begun early in the king's youth and most easily

³⁵³ *CSP Scot.*, xiii, no.754; Calderwood, vi, 143; Williamson, *Myth*, 17-18.

³⁵⁴ E.21/76, fos.97r&v, 110r.

³⁵⁵ E.21/76, fo.98v.

³⁵⁶ *CSP Scot.*, xiii, no.801, no.811; Calderwood, vi, 151.

³⁵⁷ E.21/76, fo.150r.

dated to the arrival from France of his cousin Esmé Stewart, sieur d'Aubigné. In August 1584 Monsieur de Fontenay wrote to Mary that James's 'love for favourites is indiscreet and wilful and takes no account of the wishes of his people'. Fontenay excused his behaviour on account of his age but feared it may 'become habitual'.³⁵⁸ A point to make about this report is that Esmé was dead by 1584; therefore he could not have been referring to the duke. Fontenay was likely referring to the generally disliked earl of Arran, although Arran was not a favourite to the same degree as Lennox.

The basis for the following section comes primarily from appearances in either the exchequer accounts or the MSS records of the privy seal, up until 1603 and James's move to England. From these documents a tradition of long-standing service to the crown from a select few individuals can be detected. They have been grouped for convenience into three general areas: Stirling classmates, Stewart relations and long-term domestic servitors. Admittedly, as the concentration is on the Scottish reign, this does not take into account the lives of influential servitors who became even more influential in England, mainly George Home of Spot, earl of Dunbar and Robert Kerr, earl of Somerset. Nor is attention paid to the slough of influential courtiers such as George Gordon, marquis of Huntly, Sir James Sandilands of Slamanno, Alexander Lindsay, Lord Spynie or important officials such as John Maitland of Thirlestane. Rather the focus is on the group of people James would appear to have considered his 'family'.

Stirling Classmates

James spent his formative years in the nursery and schoolroom of Stirling Castle under the watchful eye of the countess of Mar. It must be remembered that he was not subjected to the strictures of Buchanan's teachings alone but was joined by several other young boys of approximately the same age: John Erskine, Thomas Erskine, and Walter Stewart.

John Erskine, 2nd earl of Mar, was born around 1562 and had been given the nickname 'Jock o'the Slates' by a young king. In April 1578, he took part in the

³⁵⁸ Willson, *James VI & I*, 53.

seizure of Stirling Castle from his uncle, Alexander, who had held it since 1572, after which Mar was formally made captain of the castle. Due to his part in the Ruthven Raid he was given licence in 1583 to go abroad for three years. Mar was also a primary player in the abortive Stirling Raid of 1584. He returned to Scotland in 1585, was made a privy councillor and reappointed as keeper of Stirling Castle.³⁵⁹ Mar was a candidate for chancellor but lost to the earl of Montrose. More importantly, he was given the charge of Prince Henry in 1594, a decision not liked by the queen, which in turn led to years of court quarrels and intrigues. In February 1601 he was one of two ambassadors sent to England to support James's claim to the English crown. He was installed as a knight of the Garter in July 1603, shortly following his arrival in England. In December 1616 he was appointed as high treasurer of Scotland, an office that he held until March 1630.³⁶⁰

Mar's first wife, Agnes, was the sister of Lord Drummond. The marriage occurred at Kincardine in October 1580, at which the king was present along with a large number of the Scottish nobility.³⁶¹ James also was present in Stirling at the baptism of Mar's son, John, in March 1581, when Mar was made captain of the castle.³⁶² It is thought Agnes died sometime after 1584.³⁶³ The earl's second marriage occurred in December 1592. On the sixth of that month, in the chapel of Holyroodhouse, he married the duke of Lennox's second sister, Marie, 'in quyet maner the king and queane beand present'.³⁶⁴ She survived him and was nominated tutrix to their youngest son upon Mar's death in December 1634.³⁶⁵

Mar's appearances in the treasurer's accounts and privy seal were not numerous during this period, although he did receive a few large grants of money. The first was in March 1580 when he was granted a £2,000 composition for his own presentation of the lands of Monkton.³⁶⁶ Nearly 20 years later, in June 1598, he received a part of a composition of contravention worth £666 13s 4d.³⁶⁷ Mar had also procured the principal bedchamber within the secretary's lodgings at Holyroodhouse.

³⁵⁹ *SP*, v, 615-16.

³⁶⁰ *SP*, v, 616-18.

³⁶¹ Johnston, *History*, fo.527v.

³⁶² Adv. MS 33.7.25, fo.240.

³⁶³ *SP*, v, 621.

³⁶⁴ Johnston, *History*, fo.608r.

³⁶⁵ *SP*, v, 260.

³⁶⁶ E.21/61, fo.16r.

³⁶⁷ E.21/72, transcript p.49.

A letter from William Schaw, master of works, in October 1596 informed John Lindsay, Lord Menmuir, that he would have to contact the duke of Lennox for keys to the secretary's lodgings as the earl of Mar currently held the principal bedchamber and Lady Ochiltree possessed the rest.³⁶⁸ That Mar was able to procure the largest bedchamber within the temporarily-vacant lodging shows his level of influence with both the king and duke.

Regardless of the lack of account mentions, Mar's position as one of the king's most trusted friends and servitors is clear. The fact that James trusted Mar to protect and keep the young prince is highly indicative of the king's feelings for his oldest friend. It has suggested that the young queen found no opposition in the Scottish court to be insurmountable, with the exception of Mar's control of Prince Henry.³⁶⁹ Even though Mar took part in the Ruthven Raid and the Stirling Raid, none of his actions were subversive, rather 'ruthlessly assertive'. Unlike Huntly, he was always able to regain a high position of favour with the king. It has been suggested that Mar was 'a crown servant first and a regional magnate second'.³⁷⁰ That a Ruthven raider, a man who not only had captured the king once but made a second attempt, could be entrusted, beyond the queen, with the care and security of the royal heir proves the high esteem in which he was held by James. Undoubtedly this is because Mar, more so than anyone else, was considered by the king as a brother, and treated as such.

Another highly influential Stirling classmate of the king's was Thomas Erskine of Gogar. Thomas was the second son of Alexander Erskine, master of Mar, the king's loved and trusted guardian for much of his childhood.³⁷¹ He was born in 1566, making him the same age as the king. He retained a high position within the chamber through the entire reign, reinforcing his importance, as far as James was concerned, when he killed Alexander Ruthven during the events of the Gowrie conspiracy of August 1600. For his actions he was made laird of Dirleton in November 1600, and it is said that his servitor was made a gentleman.³⁷² In 1601, he

³⁶⁸ ACC 9769 (personal papers of John Lindsay, Lord Menmuir, original letters): 12/5/16.

³⁶⁹ Meikle, 'Meddlesome Princess', in Goodare and Lynch (eds.), *Reign of James VI*, 140.

³⁷⁰ Goodare and Lynch, 'James VI: Universal king?', in Goodare and Lynch (eds.), *Reign of James VI*, 14.

³⁷¹ *SP*, v, 81-2. Alexander Erskine was keeper of Stirling Castle (until 1578), keeper of Edinburgh Castle, and was appointed as deputy high chamberlain to the earl of Lennox in October 1580.

³⁷² Adv. MS 28.3.12, fo.35v.

accompanied the duke of Lennox as ambassador to France and was admitted as a privy councillor. Very little information exists about his marriage to Anne Ogilvy, daughter of Sir Gilbert Ogilvy of Powrie. They likely married sometime between 1590 and 1595, as their son, Alexander, was old enough to marry in 1610. Anne died sometime before 1604 and Erskine made two subsequent marriages in England.³⁷³

Erskine held the offices of chamberlain depute (1592-c.1600), captain of the guard (November 1600 - March 1601), and ordinary gentleman of the chamber (Dec 1594 - July 1601).³⁷⁴ Unlike his cousin, Thomas appeared frequently within the household and privy seal records. In August 1579 he was appointed as the king's server for life and appeared as such in November 1584 when granted a gift of ward and in May 1589 when granted a gift of escheat.³⁷⁵ Thomas was granted another gift of escheat in February 1595 and a gift of ward and non-entry in July 1601.³⁷⁶ He was in close and constant attendance upon the king and in June 1599 was reimbursed £333 6s 8d which he had 'deburst in his maisteis awin particular effairis'.³⁷⁷ Another account shows he received a payment of £1,316 13s 4d as 'part of the customs which aught to have been paid by the taxsmen'.³⁷⁸

John and Thomas were not the only Erskines to benefit from close relations with the king. In March 1589 the four sons of Alexander Erskine, master of Mar were granted a yearly pension of £2,500 in recognition of the service of both Alexander and his eldest surviving son.³⁷⁹ James Erskine also went into service for the king; he appeared as the king's server between 1596 and July 1600.³⁸⁰ James married Mary Erskine, daughter of Adam, commendator of Cambuskenneth, former collector of the thirds of the benefices and a man who had been entrusted to assist in the young king's physical growth, in 1596.³⁸¹

The last influential classmate of the king's was Walter Stewart, the son of Sir John Stewart of Minto and Margaret Stewart (of Cardonald). He was designated

³⁷³ *SP*, v, 84-6.

³⁷⁴ Appendix 1.

³⁷⁵ *RSS*, vii, 2019; *RSS*, viii, 2537; *PS*.1/59, fo.128v.

³⁷⁶ *PS*.1/67, fo.110r; *PS*.1/72, fo.149r.

³⁷⁷ *E*.21/73, fo.51r.

³⁷⁸ *E*.24/22, fo.39v.

³⁷⁹ *PS*.1/59, fo.41v. This was to be divided with £1,500 going to Thomas and £1,000 split between George, James and Archibald.

³⁸⁰ Appendix 1. In May 1593, James received the gift of marriage of Arthur Erskine of Auchterforfar and seven years later received a gift of escheat: *PS*.1/65, fo.200v; *PS*.1/71, fo.293v.

³⁸¹ *SP*, v, 83.

commendator of Blantyre in 1580 and nominated as one of the gentlemen of the chamber. He received the keeping of the privy seal after Buchanan died in September 1582, was made a privy councillor in November 1582, and was made an assessor to the treasurer in April 1583. He was also chosen as tutor to young Ludovick, duke of Lennox. Stewart appeared as a gentleman in the king's privy chamber between May 1580 and 1594, as a gentleman pensioner between May 1580 and 1592. In January 1596, he was appointed as one of the Octavians, an appointment from which he resigned a year later. In March 1596 he succeeded the master of Glamis as treasurer and held that position through April 1599, and between January and December 1597, he concurrently held the office of comptroller. He demitted the keepership of the privy seal in favour of John Lindsay, Lord Menmuir in March 1596.³⁸² He resigned as treasurer in April 1599 but made an appearance on the privy council in May 1599. In July 1606 he was created Lord Blantyre. He remained in Scotland and died 'full of years and honour' in March 1617.³⁸³

Stewart was in close attendance on the king in the early 1580s. In July and August 1581 he was reimbursed £333 6s 8d for money which had been 'debursit in the king's service'.³⁸⁴ He was granted a composition of a part of an escheat, worth £333 6s 8d, in February 1582³⁸⁵ and £1,333 6s 8d from a composition of ward and non-entry in August 1592.³⁸⁶ During his years as treasurer he received a yearly fee of £1,000³⁸⁷ and in 1597 received the additional payment of £2,000 'in consideration of his pains and travel in the offices of collector and comptroller'.³⁸⁸ Earlier in 1594, as Lord Privy Seal he was reimbursed half of £6,666 13s 4d for his expenses in providing furnishings and 'support' for the visiting ambassadors from Denmark.³⁸⁹

Although not on a par with the Erskines, Stewart did quite well for himself at court. The only mention that James displayed any anger towards Stewart was over an incident involving Mr Robert Bruce. Bruce, having displeased the king found himself suddenly without one of his pensions. The minister took the case to the Court of Session where the decision went against the king. Although Stewart gave no

³⁸² ACC 9769 (personal papers of Lord Menmuir): 12/1/34.

³⁸³ *SP*, ii, 81-3.

³⁸⁴ E.21/62, fos.142v, 148v.

³⁸⁵ E.21/62, fo.172v.

³⁸⁶ E.22/8, fo.164v; PS.1/64, fo.93r.

³⁸⁷ E.21/70, fo.82v; E.21/71, fos.47v, 89v, 119v; E.21/72, transcript p.41.

³⁸⁸ *ER*, xxiii, 208.

³⁸⁹ *ER*, xxii, 404.

judgment in the case, he had been one of the judges and James, who directed his resentment on Stewart, ordered him committed to ward in Edinburgh Castle. However, friendship won through and Stewart was soon released from ward.³⁹⁰ Although Stewart's ward was brief, he did fall victim to the king's anger. If nothing else, this case shows how extraordinary the earl of Mar's relationship with the king was.

Stewart Relations

Being a Stewart king in Scotland meant that, if you wanted them or not, many of the nobility and aristocracy were relations. This was certainly the case with James VI. Not only was he related to Stewarts from his mother's side, such as his uncle, the earl of Moray, but he had Stewarts on his father's side as well, the earls of Lennox. This made for numerous relations although not all were well favoured at court, that distinction was held by only a handful. Just as researching royal courtiers as a whole is too broad a task, discussing the Stewarts is also an undertaking that requires limitations to make it feasible. For the purposes of this section only the most well known of the king's Stewart relations will be mentioned: Esmé, Ludovick, Captain James, and Francis.

Perhaps the most recognised courtier, and the most infamous, was Esmé Stewart, sieur d'Aubigné and duke of Lennox. Moysie described Stewart as 'a man of comlie proportioun, civile behaviour, readbeardit, honest in conversatioun, weil lykit of be the King and a pairt of his nobiletie at the first'.³⁹¹ A nephew of the king's grandfather, Esmé arrived in Leith on 8 September 1579 accompanied by an entourage of 24. Upon arrival he claimed that his visit was solely to congratulate young James on his entry to the kingdom and to remain only a short space, although it was heard from other sources that he arrived with instructions from the duc de Guise. He departed for Stirling on 14 September, and arrived in plenty of time to accompany James to Edinburgh.³⁹²

³⁹⁰ *SP*, ii, 82.

³⁹¹ Moysie, *Memoirs*, 25.

³⁹² Calderwood, iii, 457; Willson, *James VI & I*, 32; Adv. MS 31.6.10, fo.92r; Johnston, *History*, fo.524r.

Stewart's rise within the ranks of the Scottish nobility was exceedingly fast. On 5 March 1580, he was created earl of Lennox, a title that first had to be taken away from the king's great-uncle, Robert Stewart, who was created earl of March in compensation. In August 1581, Esmé was created duke of Lennox,³⁹³ making him the highest-ranking noble in the country. He was appointed as high chamberlain of Scotland in the newly created adult household on 24 September 1580, with the above-mentioned Alexander Erskine as his deputy.³⁹⁴ Esmé received his appointment as captain of the king's guard in March 1581 after the reluctant demission of the office by the earl of Arran.³⁹⁵ The Ruthven Raid brought about the end of his leadership and he was forced to return to France where he died in May 1583.³⁹⁶

James's love for his older, Catholic, cousin from France was a cause of concern for some courtiers and most ministers. Within a month of his arrival, Stewart was well established at court. It was suggested that although he would not deal with the king in 'any matter of importance', he was not against pressing for the advancement of others, was gathering an ever-growing clientele, and 'growing still into the King's good opynyone'.³⁹⁷ In February 1580, it was noted that James travelled from Stirling to Holyroodhouse accompanied only by his household servants and Esmé Stewart. Their travels were not so worrisome as the notion that James had 'conceavid ane inteir love to the said lord obany, the kingis majestie entirit in great familiaritie with him still useing quyet purposeing and rownding togidder'.³⁹⁸ A month later, he was raised to the earldom and it was said that he 'carryeth the sway' in court.³⁹⁹ Due to his rapid rise, the power and prestige associated with his appointments, and his closeness to the king, many of Scotland's nobles were justifiably concerned about their own positions,⁴⁰⁰ although envy also played its part. Therefore, Lennox became the most powerful man in Scotland, and the most disliked.

Why such a meteoric rise of a French Catholic in Protestant Scotland (although it is claimed he converted to Protestantism during his time in Scotland)? It was not just because he was a cousin, as James had plenty of those. It was due to the

³⁹³ *RPC*, iii, 272; Calderwood, iii, 576.

³⁹⁴ *RSS*, vii, 2533.

³⁹⁵ *RSS*, viii, 714.

³⁹⁶ *SP*, v, 356.

³⁹⁷ Bowes, *Correspondence*, xi.

³⁹⁸ Johnston, *History*, fo.526.

³⁹⁹ Bowes, *Correspondence*, x.

⁴⁰⁰ Adv. MS 31.6.10, fos.97r-98r.

manner in which he treated the king and the changes he brought to the court. As has been stated: 'Into the dour surroundings of the young King he brought colour, amusement, gaiety, the grace and lightness of France, as well as a knowledge of life and the discovery that humanism had aspects other than the study of Greek and Latin and of the writings of bellicose divines. Above all, he brought love'.⁴⁰¹ Although Lennox's body was buried at Aubigné in France, it is said his heart was removed and brought to James.⁴⁰²

During Esmé's stay in Scotland he was granted sizeable sums of money out of the exchequer accounts. In December 1581, he was granted the princely sum of £5,000, although payments from February and June of 1582 were significantly smaller, £100 and £1,000, respectively.⁴⁰³ Esmé also benefited greatly from the death of Regent Morton and the division of the former regent's lands and possessions, much of which went to Esmé as the leading courtier and king's favourite.

Not only did Esmé benefit from his close relationship with the king, but his children did as well. Ludovick will be mentioned in more length below. His other children included a second son, Esmé, who inherited the title upon his brother's death; the eldest daughter, Henrietta, who married George Gordon, marquis of Huntly (July 1588); and the younger daughter, Marie, who married John Erskine, earl of Mar (December 1592).⁴⁰⁴ Henrietta and Marie joined their brother in Scotland late in May 1588.⁴⁰⁵ Mar made a wise choice through his marriage to Marie Stewart as this alliance strengthened his already strong ties to the king.

The most interesting marriage alliance of Esmé's children was between Henrietta and George Gordon. George, earl of Huntly, was a much-loved favourite of the king.⁴⁰⁶ On the positive side, he was young and attractive. On the negative, he was hot-headed and prone towards rebellions and subversive plots. Huntly's most important action, the one that brought him directly into the innermost circles of the Scottish court, was his marriage to Henrietta Stewart. The marriage, which occurred

⁴⁰¹ Willson, *James VI & I*, 32.

⁴⁰² Calderwood, iii, 714; Calderwood, viii, appendix: 242-43.

⁴⁰³ E.21/62, fos.165r, 175r; E.21/63, fo.48r.

⁴⁰⁴ *SP*, v, 356. No mention is made if Esmé, younger, spent time in Scotland. Furthermore, Esmé's third daughter, Gabrielle, is rarely mentioned and apparently entered a nunnery.

⁴⁰⁵ Johnston, *History*, fo.582r.

⁴⁰⁶ The most recent work on Huntly is being done by Ms Ruth Grant. See 'The Brig o'Dee Affair, the sixth Earl of Huntly and the Politics of the Counter-Reformation', in Goodare and Lynch (eds.), *Reign of James VI*, 93-109.

in July 1588 at Holyroodhouse, was a time of ‘great triumph, mirth and pastime’.⁴⁰⁷ James went to the extreme of writing a masque to be performed at the occasion, apparently with a leading part for himself.⁴⁰⁸ It has been stated that it was remarkable that the king could involve himself so deeply in the wedding that he would write a masque, especially for a strongly Catholic earl when the Spanish Armada was working its way northwards, and less surprising that James never finished the masque.⁴⁰⁹ Although James’s affection towards Huntly is undeniable, that he would write a wedding masque seems to point more to his feelings for Henrietta than for Huntly.

Ludovick Stewart, 2nd duke of Lennox, had a long and prosperous relationship with the king. Born in France in 1574, Ludovick was sent to Scotland following his father’s death. He arrived in mid-November 1583 and was conveyed by the earls of Huntly, Crawford, Montrose and Colonel William Stewart to the king who was at Arran’s home of Kinneil.⁴¹⁰ To assist young Ludovick, the earl of Montrose was elected as his tutor and the administrator of his late father’s Scottish possessions.⁴¹¹ In order to further his education, the king’s principal physician, Gilbert Moncrieff, ‘a man wise and of good learning’ was appointed as pedagogue.⁴¹²

The king, acting on behalf of the young duke in September 1586, agreed upon a marriage between Ludovick and the only daughter of Lord Hamilton.⁴¹³ Unfortunately, no one had seen fit to discuss this with Ludovick, who was uninterested in the match. In any event, it never occurred as Ludovick’s first wife was Sophia Ruthven whom he abducted and married without the king’s permission in April 1589.⁴¹⁴ Aside from the impetuosity of youthful love, Ludovick seems to

⁴⁰⁷ Moysie, *Memoirs*, 69.

⁴⁰⁸ Wormald, ‘‘Tis true I am a cradle king’: the view from the throne’, in Goodare and Lynch (eds), *Reign of James VI*, 252-3.

⁴⁰⁹ R.J. Lyall, ‘James VI and the sixteenth-century cultural crisis’, in Goodare and Lynch (eds.), *Reign of James VI*, 67.

⁴¹⁰ Calderwood, iii, 749; Calderwood, viii, appendix: 254; Johnston, *History*, fo.553r; *SP*, v, 356. It should be remembered that Ludovick was only nine years old when he arrived, alone, in a foreign country.

⁴¹¹ Johnston, *History*, fo.549v. Apparently Lennox, before his death, had requested as tutors to his children, the earls of Huntly, Argyll, Montrose, Glencairn, Eglinton and Morton: Calderwood, viii, appendix: 244.

⁴¹² Spottiswood, *History*, 328.

⁴¹³ Moysie, *Memoirs*, 57-8.

⁴¹⁴ See the chapter on Court Style: literature. There also seems to be disagreement over her name, some reports say Sophia, some Jean. William, earl of Gowrie did have daughters named Sophia and Jean.

have been possessed of an excellent reputation. In a letter from March 1589, Thomas Fowler reported that Ludovick was:

so proper a youthe, so wyse, stayde, actyve on horse and fote,
cowrteows, of suche interteynment and carryage of him selffe, so
pleasyng to all men, so good a ... and grace, being reasonable high
and well made, as truly he is a parragon. The Kinge loves this Duke as
him selffe.⁴¹⁵

Calderwood reported that Ludovick ‘was will liked of for his courtesie, meekness and liberalitie to his servants and followers’.⁴¹⁶

During the Scottish reign Ludovick’s most important role was one inherited from his father, that of high chamberlain of Scotland. As high chamberlain Ludovick had absolute control over the appointment of lodgings within the royal residences. In October 1596, William Schaw wrote to Secretary Menmuir stating: ‘my Lord Duke must be spoken [to], for his Lordship has [the] only power ... to appoint and command the lodgings and chambers within his majesties palaces’. Schaw would, of course, be ready to repair any lodgings ‘being always appointed by my Lord Duke’s direction’.⁴¹⁷ In August 1600, James combined the office of high chamberlain with the title of first gentleman of the chamber and confirmed Ludovick as such with Sir James Sandilands of Slamanno acting as depute and lieutenant.⁴¹⁸ He was also proclaimed admiral of Scotland in place of Earl Bothwell who was removed from office in August 1591.⁴¹⁹

Ludovick was sent as an ambassador to Henry IV of France in 1601 before being summoned to accompany the king to England in 1603. He was sent back to Scotland in order to smooth relations with the queen and to ensure the safety of Prince Henry in his travels to London. He died in London in February 1624.⁴²⁰ He was married first, as mentioned above, to Sophia Ruthven who died a year later and secondly to Jean Campbell.⁴²¹

Furthermore, Ludovick’s second wife’s name was Jean, thus likely causing more confusion. For the purposes of this thesis I will agree with Jamie Reid Baxter and refer to her as Sophia.

⁴¹⁵ *CSP Scot.*, x, no.19.

⁴¹⁶ Calderwood, vii, 595; *SP*, v, 357.

⁴¹⁷ ACC 9769 (Lord Menmuir, original letters): 12/5/16.

⁴¹⁸ PS.1/71, fos.269r-v.

⁴¹⁹ Calderwood, v, 139.

⁴²⁰ *SP*, v, 356-8.

⁴²¹ Johnston, *History*, fo.604r; See Court Style: Court Entertainments for more on Ludovick’s marriage to Jean Campbell (also Appendix 4). Also see Court Style: Funerals about Sophia’s death.

James made sure that Ludovick was financially secure. Like his father, Ludovick received a number of grants of money from the exchequer, including a yearly pension of £1,000, although only one year's payment is recorded.⁴²² Other payments include £1,000 in November 1590, £666 13s 4d in May 1591, £400 in 1597, £666 13s 4d in August 1598, and £2,666 13s 4d in 1602.⁴²³ Again, these are relatively small when considering the wealth acquired through land grants and perhaps gifts of jewellery. Nevertheless, they were significant sums when considering the impoverished state of the Scottish finances.

All of the children of Esmé Stewart profited from their father's three years with the king. Ludovick was a powerful figure at court due to his office of high chamberlain of Scotland but, with the exception of showing support for Huntly and Bothwell, kept a low political profile. James seems to have adopted the attitude of a foster father to Esmé's brood and quickly forgave any aberrant behaviour. No other family, not even the Erskines of Mar and Kellie, can be seen to have benefited from ties to the king as much as the Lennox Stewarts. James insured that Ludovick was always the highest ranking noble, first in Scotland and then in England. Henrietta, through her connections, was able to ensure her husband's position within the inner circles of the court. Marie and Mar held close ties to the king, both individually and jointly, throughout the reign. This was an impressive legacy for one man who spent very few years in Scotland.

Although not a close relation like Esmé and his family, Captain James Stewart certainly made his mark on Scottish politics.⁴²⁴ Thankfully, few Stewarts were as problematic and troublesome as Captain James and Francis, Earl Bothwell. The scope of Stewart influence over the young king was remarked in a report by an English agent, Alexander Hay, in June 1579: 'There is no alteration of government about the king; but it is like that they of the surname of Stewart shall have chief place and greatest credit, as specially James Stewart, son to Lord Ochiltree'.⁴²⁵

Captain James was the second son of Andrew, 2nd Lord Ochiltree and a great-grandson of James Hamilton, 1st earl of Arran. His first court appointment occurred

⁴²² E.21/68, fos.107r, 128r.

⁴²³ E.21/68, fos.68r, 84v; *ER*, xxiii, 155; E.21/72, transcript p.66; E.24/23, fo.38v.

⁴²⁴ For a fascinating description of the career of Captain James Stewart see: Sir J. Fergusson of Kilkerran, *The Man Behind Macbeth and Other Studies* (London, 1969), 22-87.

⁴²⁵ *CSP Scot.*, v, no.410; Fergusson, *Macbeth*, 33.

in October 1580 when he was chosen as one of the king's ordinary gentlemen of the chamber.⁴²⁶ He was appointed captain of the king's guard in March 1581 with a monthly wage of £50 and the power 'to list and raise' sixty able and trusty men, an office which he demitted in favour of Lennox in February 1582.⁴²⁷ In January 1581, he obtained the tutorship of the 'idiot' earl of Arran, son of the duke of Châtelherault.⁴²⁸ Not content with the tutorship, Stewart was created earl of Arran and Lord Hamilton in April 1581. As Arran's power increased, his relationship with Lennox deteriorated, especially after Lennox's elevation to the dukedom. This led to the sitting of two separate privy councils between December 1581 and February 1582.⁴²⁹ Arran, almost as greatly disliked as Lennox, was committed to the custody of the earl of Gowrie, in Stirling, following the Ruthven Raid of August 1582.⁴³⁰

Following the forcible departure of Lennox and the end of the Ruthven regime, James spent quite a bit of time in the company of Arran and his countess. Calderwood noted that James 'passed his tyme for a season' at Kinneil, arriving on 11 November 1583.⁴³¹ Furthermore, the end of the Ruthven regime brought increased political power for Arran. Upon the death of the earl of Argyll in September 1584, Arran was elected chancellor in his place. Arran's rise to the chancellorship was not without strife. It has been said that he 'quarrelled and bullied until the court was convulsed by disputes'.⁴³² A month later he 'foisted himself' upon the town of Edinburgh as provost.⁴³³ Additionally he was made governor of both Edinburgh and Stirling Castles. James was again a guest of Arran in May 1585, this time at Dirleton, where the king was 'sumptuously banqueted' and 'passed the time with the play of Robinhood'.⁴³⁴ It was at this time, during negotiations with England over the fate of Mary, queen of Scots, that Arran's position began to deteriorate. By that time not only was he 'the most hated man in Scotland', but the English faction, the Catholic nobles, the Presbyterian ministers, and others were beginning to gather against him.

⁴²⁶ *RPC*, iii, 323; Appendix 2.

⁴²⁷ *RSS*, viii, 124; *RSS*, viii, 714.

⁴²⁸ Johnston, *History*, fo.529v.

⁴²⁹ *RPC*, iii, 416n, 428n, 431n, 435n, 438; Fergusson, *Macbeth*, 37. One council sat at Holyroodhouse under the leadership of Arran, and the other was at Dalkeith with Lennox and the king.

⁴³⁰ Calderwood, iii, 648-9.

⁴³¹ Calderwood, viii, appendix: 254.

⁴³² Willson, *James VI & I*, 47.

⁴³³ Lynch, *Scotland*, 233; Calderwood, iv, 200; See chapter: Edinburgh and the Court: Provosts.

⁴³⁴ Calderwood, iv, 366.

And to make matters worse, the insolence that he and his wife displayed was beginning to irritate James.⁴³⁵

Arran, blamed for rioting on the Borders in July 1585, which resulted in the death of the earl of Bedford's son and heir, Lord Russell, was committed to ward but released to his home in Kinneil in August 1585. His fall was complete in November 1585 with the return of the exiled lords.⁴³⁶ Calderwood reported that Captain James was charged to leave the country before 6 April 1586 and it is thought he went to either Kintyre or Ireland.⁴³⁷ His next appearance was a brief trip to Edinburgh in November 1592 by request of the king, seemingly to speak against Maitland and Lord Hamilton.⁴³⁸ This visit so alarmed Edinburgh's ministry that he quickly retired. Finally, on 1 December 1595, while riding near Symington, Stewart was attacked and killed by James Douglas of Parkhead, nephew of Regent Morton.⁴³⁹

Arran's wife, Elizabeth Stewart, was a fascinating woman as well. She has been described as 'a meete matche for suche a spous, depending upon the response of witches, and enemie to all human societie. A lewd, fascinating woman'.⁴⁴⁰ They were married in July 1581 following her divorce from the earl of March, on the grounds of the latter's impotency.⁴⁴¹ Calderwood stated that, after Captain James was made Arran's tutor, 'he grew so familiar with the Countesse of Marche that he begott upon her a child'.⁴⁴² Both parents were made to repent in front of the king before their son could be baptised in March 1582, following the return of James and Lennox from Dalkeith, and only after Arran had agreed to relinquish the captaincy of the guard to Lennox.⁴⁴³ Interestingly, Elizabeth appeared in accounts, between 1582 and 1585, as the 'king's consignis', the nearest in blood.⁴⁴⁴ Indeed it was during these years, with Esmé gone, Ludovick only a child, and the king without a spouse, that Elizabeth was

⁴³⁵ Willson, *James VI & I*, 55; Donaldson, *Scotland*, 182-83.

⁴³⁶ Lynch, *Scotland*, 233.

⁴³⁷ Calderwood, iv, 547.

⁴³⁸ Calderwood, v, 186, 188.

⁴³⁹ *SP*, i, 395-7.

⁴⁴⁰ Calderwood, iv, 27-31; *SP*, i, 397.

⁴⁴¹ Moysie, *Memoirs*, 34; Johnston, *History*, fo.537r; *RPC*, iii, 399-400f; Fergusson, *Macbeth*, 34. Elizabeth was allowed her divorce as March neither denied the charges nor would allow a medical examination. She was pregnant with Arran's son at the time of the divorce proceedings.

⁴⁴² Calderwood, iii, 593.

⁴⁴³ Moysie, *Memoirs*, 35; Calderwood, iii, 595-96; Calderwood, viii, appendix: 212.

⁴⁴⁴ E.21/63, fo.48r; E.21/64, fo.97r; Appendix 1.

viewed as the closest female relation to the king and thus Scotland's sixteenth-century equivalent of a 'First Lady'.

Both Arran and his countess benefited from their association with the king. Treasurer's accounts for the reign detail several large payments to Captain James which included £216 in March 1580, £666 13s 4d in February 1581, £200 in February 1582, £1,000 in June 1582, £200 in October 1583, and £786 13s 4d in September 1584.⁴⁴⁵ Elizabeth was granted £666 13s 4d in June 1582 and £75 13s 4d in October 1585.⁴⁴⁶ Although nothing like the sums received by both Esmé and Ludovick, these were respectable sums of money.

Captain James never lacked for critics, both contemporary and present, as has already been displayed. It has been stated that 'Captain James Stewart, rewarded...with the stolen title of Earl of Arran, was grasping and immoral; and his wife...now the chief lady at court, was no fit person to be near the King'.⁴⁴⁷ Nevertheless, the king seemed to be 'dazzled' by Arran's presence. He was a natural leader, well educated, polished, accomplished, and self-assured.⁴⁴⁸ Naturally James, who missed the guidance and leadership of Esmé, would turn to someone equally worldly wise. Arran was an extremely intelligent and shrewd man, as can be seen by his rise from a penniless second son with few prospects to an earl and chancellor.

The Ochiltree family, as a whole, had a rather violent history during the reign of James VI. Arran's brother, Sir William Stewart, who had been created knight of Monkland 'with grit magnificence' at Holyroodhouse in March 1583⁴⁴⁹ was killed on Edinburgh's High Street in July 1588 by Earl Bothwell.⁴⁵⁰ Sir William's son, William, killed Sir James Douglas of Torthorwald in revenge for the murder of his uncle, Captain James, 20 years later, also on Edinburgh's High Street. On a more sedate note, Margaret Stewart, the wife of Andrew, master of Ochiltree (who died in September 1578) has already been mentioned as a royal governess who spent many years at court. Their daughter Marjorie married Roger Aston, a long-serving gentleman of the bedchamber to James. It is said that James had a 'great favour and

⁴⁴⁵ E.21/61, fo.16r, E.21/62, fos.114r, 175r; E.21/63, fo.48r; E.22/6, fos.125v, 204r.

⁴⁴⁶ E.21/63, fo.48r; E.21/64, fo.97r. In both grants she was noted as 'king's consignis'.

⁴⁴⁷ Willson, *James VI & I*, 35.

⁴⁴⁸ Willson, *James VI & I*, 47.

⁴⁴⁹ Johnston, *History*, fo.556r.

⁴⁵⁰ Birrell, 'Diary', fos.28v-29r; Calderwood, iv, 679; R.G. Macpherson, 'Francis Stewart, 5th Earl Bothwell, c1562-1612: Lordship and Politics in Jacobean Scotland' (Ph.D., Edinburgh, 1998), 166.

liking' for Andrew, 3rd Lord Ochiltree, who was six years the king's senior. Ochiltree was later made a member of the privy council, 'first lord of the bedchamber', governor of Edinburgh Castle, and general of the Ordnance.⁴⁵¹

The final, high-ranking and influential relation was Francis Stewart, 5th Earl Bothwell.⁴⁵² Born in 1563, Francis had an impressive pedigree: the son of John Stewart, commendator of Coldingham, and Jane Hepburn, heiress of her brother James, 4th earl of Bothwell; nephew of Regent Moray; and grandson of James V.⁴⁵³ It has been suggested that Francis may have been educated in the royal schoolroom at Stirling, although he was never mentioned as a schoolmate of James.⁴⁵⁴ Francis was belted by the king either in November 1577 or the spring of 1578,⁴⁵⁵ and married the earl of Angus's sister, Margaret Douglas, at Holyroodhouse 'with great triumph' in December 1577 although it was noted that eight days later he was ordered not to come within 20 miles of his wife 'be reassone of his yongnes'.⁴⁵⁶ Not long thereafter, he departed for the continent where he remained until July 1582, returning home at the request of the duke of Lennox.⁴⁵⁷

Bothwell was granted the office of admiral in June 1583, an office which the Earls Bothwell had held hereditarily since 1488.⁴⁵⁸ In 1586 he was made one of the commissioners to treat with England, even though considered by some to be 'the unfittest of any man in Scotland for such a charge', and three years after that was proclaimed a joint governor of Scotland, with young Lennox.⁴⁵⁹ He was imprisoned and forfeited in April 1591 after being accused of witchcraft, made a couple attempts to either seize, or gain an audience with, the king, was put to the horn in December

⁴⁵¹ *SP*, vi, 513-16.

⁴⁵² The most recent study of Bothwell has been done by Dr Robin Macpherson and I very much appreciate Robin allowing me to read his thesis.

⁴⁵³ *SP*, ii, 168-9; Macpherson, '5th Earl Bothwell', 102: Macpherson does not give an exact birth year for Bothwell, rather stating he was born in the 'early 1560s'.

⁴⁵⁴ Macpherson, '5th Earl Bothwell', 124.

⁴⁵⁵ Johnston, *History*, fos.513v-14r; Macpherson suggests the date of ennoblement to have been spring 1578: '5th Earl Bothwell', 127.

⁴⁵⁶ Johnston, *History*, fo.514r.

⁴⁵⁷ Macpherson, '5th Earl Bothwell', 139-40.

⁴⁵⁸ Macpherson, '5th Earl Bothwell', 145, 251-2. Bothwell was not 'officially admitted' as admiral until January 1583.

⁴⁵⁹ *CSP Scot.*, viii, no.497; Macpherson, '5th Earl Bothwell', 271, 178.

1593, fled to England in April 1594, and from there to France, Spain and, finally, Naples where he died in 1612.⁴⁶⁰

Bothwell was impetuous and possessed of a quick, and hot, temper, or as has been said of him: ‘bad, sad, and slightly mad’.⁴⁶¹ James, understandable or not, reasonable or not, was afraid of the earl. In December 1591, following Bothwell’s raid on Holyroodhouse, the king moved out of the palace to the ‘safer confines’ of Edinburgh. A year later, James procured 100 hackbutterers from Edinburgh to accompany him to the Borders to apprehend Bothwell.⁴⁶²

Bothwell, unlike the other high-ranking court Stewarts, did not receive large sums of money through the exchequer accounts. That does not mean he did not benefit from royal favour. Indeed, the office of admiral could be very lucrative. Among other perks the admiral was entitled to a tenth of all pirated goods, a tenth of all pillage, a tenth of any assize of herring and white fish, a tenth of any ransom of prisoners, and a third of flotsam, jetsam and laggan.⁴⁶³

The most interesting item about Bothwell, apart from the witchcraft trials, is the variety of ways in which he has been portrayed by historians, contemporary and present. Willson described Francis as ‘fierce, profligate and lawless, spending his time in carousals, feuds and rebellions. He was handsome, dashing and loquacious’.⁴⁶⁴ Fowler summed him up by saying ‘there is more wickedness, more valour, and more good parts in him than in any three of the other noblemen’.⁴⁶⁵ A more favourable account was given by the dean of Durham who claimed that ‘this nobleman hath a wonderful wit and as wonderful a volubility of tongue as agility of body on horse and foot; competently learned in the Latin; well languaged in the French and Italian; much delighted in poetry; and of a very resolute disposition both to do and to suffer; nothing dainty to discover his humour or any good quality he hath’.⁴⁶⁶ The most sympathetic, and recent, view of Bothwell and his actions comes from Robin Macpherson who notes that before the Stirling rebellion of April 1584, Bothwell ‘had never involved himself in any rebellion against the king. He had sympathised with aims, he had

⁴⁶⁰ *SP*, ii, 170-2; Birrell, ‘Diary’, fo.29r; Calderwood, v, 140-1, 168, 172; Macpherson, ‘5th Earl Bothwell’, 392, 396, 409.

⁴⁶¹ Macpherson, ‘5th Earl Bothwell’, 19.

⁴⁶² Calderwood, v, 177; Macpherson, ‘5th Earl Bothwell’, 393; See chapter: ‘Edinburgh and the Court’.

⁴⁶³ Macpherson, ‘5th Earl Bothwell’, 263.

⁴⁶⁴ Willson, *James VI & I*, 100.

⁴⁶⁵ Willson, *James VI & I*, 100.

⁴⁶⁶ Willson, *James VI & I*, 100.

signed petitions, he had advocated favours be shown to rebellious parties, but...he had never risen in arms against his monarch'. He further states that 'at no point did Bothwell genuinely seek the throne and, at no point, did Bothwell seek to injure the king'.⁴⁶⁷

Whatever the reason for their behaviour, James VI's Stewart relations were not always easy to live with. Esmé affected court life to an inordinate degree considering the short period of time that he actually spent in Scotland. Although he influenced the king, he never made a concerted effort to gain power, unlike Captain James. Ludovick, too, seemed quite happy to dabble in politics here and there, but generally enjoy the friendship and largesse of his cousin. Captain James and his wife, on the other hand, were the epitome of ruthless ambition, having done everything possible to claw their way to the top of Scottish politics and society.⁴⁶⁸ Bothwell, because of his excessive behaviour, is more difficult to decipher. His attempts to gain access to the king were poorly conceived, to put it mildly, as was his association with witchcraft but, unlike Huntly, he never actively participated in rebellions or subversion. In total the Stewarts are a fascinating family: rarely happy to remain on the sidelines, often at court, frequently benefiting from the king's good will, and on occasion, causing no end of troubles.

Lifetime Servitors

The other important, and influential, household group was the king's lifetime servitors; those who, for the most part, served at least 20 years. Many of the domestics who served in the infant king's household at Stirling remained with James throughout the reign. A few retained the same household position throughout the time of their service while others moved between positions. The kitchens and stables, particularly, provide examples of men working their way up through the ranks. And it was a male-dominated household although there were a few notable female members.

The importance placed on these servitors by the king is clear through comments directed to Prince Henry in *Basilicon Doron*:

⁴⁶⁷ Macpherson, '5th Earl Bothwell', 150, 427.

⁴⁶⁸ Sir J. Fergusson claims that Arran and his countess were Shakespeare's models for Macbeth and Lady Macbeth: *The Man Behind Macbeth*. It should be remembered that Elizabeth, countess of Arran, was a Stewart in her own right.

Prefer specially to your seruice so manie as haue trulie serued mee and are able for it, ... Vse them... trusting and aduancing those farthest whome I founde faithfulleste: which yee muste not discerne by their rewardes at my hande but according to the truste I gaue them, hauinge oft-times had better hearte than happe to the rewarding of sundrie.⁴⁶⁹

James suggested that servants be men of wisdom, honesty and good conscience, well practiced in the points of the craft for which they are chosen, and, more importantly, free of that ‘filthy vice’ of flattery. Furthermore only the ‘gentliest natured and trustiest’ should be chosen for the ‘inwardest offices’, especially those in the chamber.⁴⁷⁰

The most trusted of all of James’s domestics was his childhood tutor-turned-almoner, Peter Young. Young, who had studied in Geneva with Theodore Beza, was chosen to assist the elderly George Buchanan in the schooling of the young king. While Buchanan excelled in history, the classics, and humanism, Young provided the king with a strong understanding of Calvinistic theology.⁴⁷¹ In contrast to Buchanan’s strict demeanour, Young treated the king gently and earned James’s ever-lasting respect and friendship. It has been claimed that Young ‘was loath to offend the king at any time, and used himself warily, as a man that had mind of his own weal by keeping of his majesty’s favour’.⁴⁷² In October 1577, nearing the end of his requirements as tutor, Young was appointed as the king’s ‘maister elemosinare’ with a yearly fee of £200.⁴⁷³

Although the payments were not always large, as compared to those of the Erskines and Stewarts, the king did grant several compositions to Young. These included £66 13s 4d in July 1580, the same amount in April 1581, and £36 13s 4d in February 1582.⁴⁷⁴ During his time as royal tutor he was granted a lifetime pension, noted as 200 merks in 1573 then £200 in 1575, and reaffirmed in 1581 as £200.⁴⁷⁵ Unfortunately for Young, the accounts rarely showed him receiving the pension. He received £200, as pension, in 1579 and again in 1580, but in 1597 he received only

⁴⁶⁹ James VI, *Basilicon Doron*, 110-12.

⁴⁷⁰ James VI, *Basilicon Doron*, 114-18.

⁴⁷¹ Willson, *James VI & I*, 19-25.

⁴⁷² Melville, *Memoirs*, 234; Willson, *James VI & I*, 20; Donaldson, *Scotland*, 172.

⁴⁷³ RSS, vii, 1231.

⁴⁷⁴ E.21/61, fo.34v; E.21/62, fos.125r, 172v.

⁴⁷⁵ RSS, vi, 2404; RMS, iv, 2416; RSS, viii, 282.

£33 13s 4d for a pension.⁴⁷⁶ The most fascinating payment to Young, and the best evidence of his high standing with the king, was a grant of £2,000 in September 1580 ‘to buy sum pece of land and to plenishe the same to be a resting place to him his wyff and bairnis in consideration of his lang trew and thankfull service’.⁴⁷⁷

In April 1586, Young was chosen as an ambassador to Denmark and given £666 13s 4d to cover expenses.⁴⁷⁸ It was remarked by Thomas Randolph that Young was ‘honest, wise and learned, but judged by some to be unfit to have a chief place, being of no great birth nor by office of any great calling’.⁴⁷⁹ Young and Colonel Stewart, credited by the king with the success of the Danish marriage, had ‘won the king’s affection above all others’. When the time came to travel to Denmark to finalise the marriage, Young expressed a wish to travel with the Earl Marischal, stating that he had his own ‘private instructions’ to impart upon the Danes. Thomas Fowler reported that the earl refused to travel with Young, having been ‘perswaded, and it is true, that the sayd Peter will robbe him of all his honour, beinge an ambycyowse fellow, and aqaynted there, and specyally by his pryvy instruccyons’.⁴⁸⁰ Although this was simply gossip, it provides an interesting perspective on Young’s position within the household.

Young was again chosen as an ambassador to Denmark, in April 1594, and given ‘speciall commissioun for the commoun weill and effairis’ of Scotland.⁴⁸¹ It would appear from the record that his wife and children accompanied him on his mission. However, in this instance, Young’s lack of a noble pedigree caused some problems. Not only had Young been appointed to deliver the invitations to the baptism, but he was also appointed to meet and welcome the ambassadors of Anna’s grandfather and brother-in-law, the dukes of Mecklenburg and Brunswick, respectively, upon their arrival at Leith. The ambassadors took offence that a ‘nobody’ was sent to meet them and refused to travel with him from Edinburgh to Stirling.⁴⁸² James continued to trust Young implicitly and appointed him as ambassador to Denmark, again, in 1596, along with Lord Ogilvy. They departed in

⁴⁷⁶ *ER*, xx, 360; *ER*, xxi, 152; *ER*, xxiii, 211.

⁴⁷⁷ E.21/61, fo.42v.

⁴⁷⁸ E.21/71, fo.58r.

⁴⁷⁹ *CSP Scot.*, viii, no.362.

⁴⁸⁰ *CSP Scot.*, x, no.116.

⁴⁸¹ PS.1/66, fo.119v; Melville, *Memoirs*, 367.

⁴⁸² See chapter on Court Style: Ambassadors and Visiting Dignitaries.

June 1596 for the coronation and wedding of Anna's brother, King Christian IV, and returned in October with 'rich gifts and rewards' and reports of the feasts and triumphs accompanying the coronation.⁴⁸³

Young's family also benefited from his royal alliance. His wife, Elspeth Gibb, was a gentlewoman in Anna's household, as was his daughter.⁴⁸⁴ Indeed, the queen liked Young's daughter enough to insist on returning to Holyroodhouse in early 1595 to be present for the girl's wedding.⁴⁸⁵

Another highly influential and long-term servitor within the king's household was an Englishman, Roger Aston. Aston, said to have been an illegitimate son of a Cheshire gentleman, served the king's grandfather, Lennox, as well as Mary and Darnley before entering the service of the young king after 1578.⁴⁸⁶ He was married to Marjorie Stewart, the third daughter of Andrew, master of Ochiltree and Margaret Stewart, which certainly did not hinder his status within the household.⁴⁸⁷

Aston was noted as a gentleman within the king's chamber from July 1581 to December 1601⁴⁸⁸ although he continued to serve the king in England, was knighted in April 1603 and later became master of the wardrobe. It was his closeness to the king that allowed him to act as an influential correspondent with the English government. Through him, Walsingham, Burghley and their spies were able to follow the precise movements of the king and court and were privy to many of the king's most intimate conversations. Numerous examples exist of Aston's correspondence with the English agent, Nicolson, and James's former violer, James Hudson. Furthermore, Aston's position within the chamber allowed him to arrange the occasional meeting between the king and an English agent. It is possible that Aston had an even closer link to Elizabeth for a short time. In November 1591, when the English ambassador to Scotland, Robert Bowes, requested leave to deal with some private matters in England, Aston was 'very willing' to oversee affairs in Scotland.⁴⁸⁹ Bowes was gone for between six and eight weeks and it is assumed that Aston covered for him during the absence. Apart from his work for Elizabeth, Aston was a

⁴⁸³ *CSP Scot.*, xii, no.206, no.277.

⁴⁸⁴ E.21/68, fo.84v; Appendix 1. Young's daughter was likely the Marie Young who appeared as a servitor in the queen's chamber.

⁴⁸⁵ *CSP Scot.*, xi, no.466.

⁴⁸⁶ *CSP Scot.*, xiii, p.xxvi; *RSS*, viii, 390.

⁴⁸⁷ *SP*, vi, 514-16.

⁴⁸⁸ Appendix 1.

⁴⁸⁹ *CSP Scot.*, x, no.619.

loyal subject of James. It was Aston whom James sent to London to procure items and prepare for his marriage to Anna.⁴⁹⁰ And it was again Aston who was the first person sent to London to prepare for the king's reception following Elizabeth's death.⁴⁹¹

Due to his loyal service to James and his parents and grandfather, Aston received generous rewards. His first gift of a lifetime pension was for beer and meal in July 1581.⁴⁹² In November 1588, he was granted a yearly pension of 600 merks⁴⁹³ and a yearly 'fee and pension' of 500 merks in December 1601 so that 'he may be more able to continue and attend upon the king'.⁴⁹⁴ In addition to the pensions, he received a couple of gifts of escheat, one in March 1591 and another in April 1596.⁴⁹⁵ Several payments throughout the accounts were directed to Aston: in May 1589 he was granted £1,533 6s 8d for unspecified reasons, £100 in August 1589 'at his passing to England', £2,000 in October 1591 which was repayment for money he had given to James Colville of Easter Weymss, and £500 in July 1598 for the price of a gold chain he delivered to Lord Dingwall.⁴⁹⁶ Other unspecified payments included £270 in October 1593, £500 in December 1595 and £200 in September 1596.⁴⁹⁷ He was also granted the keepership of Linlithgow Palace, the peel, orchards, yards and loch for the space of five years on 20 December 1596.⁴⁹⁸

Aston was undoubtedly the most trusted and highest-ranking Englishman within the Scottish household. Regardless of the fact that he had a busy sideline as an English informant, James held him in high regard. In addition to being a distant relative through marriage, Aston's mother-in-law was the governess to the king's children, one brother-in-law was Lord Ochiltree, another was Andrew Kerr (created Lord Jedburgh in 1622), also a gentleman of the bedchamber, and through Jedburgh

⁴⁹⁰ *CSP Scot.*, x, no.201.

⁴⁹¹ *CSP Scot.*, xiii, p.xxvi-xxvii; Bowes, *Correspondence*, cl.

⁴⁹² *RSS*, viii, 390.

⁴⁹³ PS.1/58, fo.74v.

⁴⁹⁴ PS.1/72, fo.192r.

⁴⁹⁵ PS.1/62, fo.1v; PS.1/68, fo.163r.

⁴⁹⁶ E.21/67, fos.144v, 160r; PS.1/63, fo.149v; E.21/72, transcript p.57.

⁴⁹⁷ E.21/69, fo.225r; E.21/70, fo.180r; E.21/71, fo.72r.

⁴⁹⁸ PS.1/69, fo.13r.

he was related to Robert Kerr, future earl of Somerset.⁴⁹⁹ Aston did very well for an illegitimate Englishman in a Scottish court.⁵⁰⁰

Not every lifetime servitor could claim the benefits and influence of Young and Aston, as they were exceptional cases. But James did treat his close and trusted servitors very well. They were his extended family, especially those who had entered his service in Stirling. James had known many of these servitors all of his life: he trusted them; he relied upon them; and to show his appreciation and affection he provided them with pensions and other gifts.

The closest, and longest serving, of the household officers was William Murray.⁵⁰¹ He served as a valet within the king's chamber from the Stirling household establishment of March 1568 until 1603, at which time he chose to remain in Scotland rather than follow James to England.⁵⁰² It is possible that William Murray also served as keeper of the vessels as both officers appeared in the accounts between March 1568 and 1603.⁵⁰³ Murray's list of pensions and gifts from the king is impressive. In 1588 and 1591 he received a £40 pension from the customs of Edinburgh,⁵⁰⁴ likely originating from a 1578 grant of a yearly £40 gift.⁵⁰⁵ When, and for what purpose, the pension of £8 11s 8d, which he received from 1591 to 1595, was granted is unclear.⁵⁰⁶ He received a significantly larger pension of £100 yearly from the treasurer between 1596 and 1599⁵⁰⁷ and a £400 yearly pension through the comptroller from 1597 to 1603.⁵⁰⁸ Several gifts of escheat were granted to him between 1572 and 1597,⁵⁰⁹ a £100 composition of escheat in 1583 and a £100 composition of ward and non-entry in 1587,⁵¹⁰ £400 in compensation for lands in Stirlingshire in 1601 and the same amount for part of the rents of the lordship of

⁴⁹⁹ *SP*, v, 77-76; *SP*, vi, 514-16; Appendix 1.

⁵⁰⁰ The Hudson musicians were an entire family of Englishmen who rose within the ranks of the household and the esteem of the king. As their area of service was primarily music and literature, they are discussed in greater detail in *Court Style: Literature*.

⁵⁰¹ *RSS*, vii, 1551. Murray was the son of the late John Murray, barber to James V.

⁵⁰² Appendix 1; E.21/25, fo.32v.

⁵⁰³ Appendix 1.

⁵⁰⁴ *ER*, xxi, 403; *ER*, xxii, 154.

⁵⁰⁵ *RSS*, vii, 1551.

⁵⁰⁶ *ER*, xxii, 156, 230, 399; *ER*, xxiii, 56.

⁵⁰⁷ E.21/71, fos.47v, 89v, 119v; E.21/73, fo.47v.

⁵⁰⁸ *ER*, xxiii, 154, 207, 280; E.24/24, fo.35r.

⁵⁰⁹ *RSS*, vi, 1423; PS.1/62, fo.173v; PS.1/65, fos.194v, 237r; PS.1/69, fo.181r.

⁵¹⁰ E.21/63, fo.118r; E.21/66, fo.75r.

Menteith in 1602.⁵¹¹ Additional monetary gifts included £100 in March 1589 for a horse that had been stolen from Murray⁵¹² and what would appear to be a departing gift of £1,000 in 1603.⁵¹³

Murray's family also benefited from his close relationship with the king. In April 1594, as gratitude for his loyal service 'since the king's birth' and being the 'first valet' in the king's chamber, his son, James, was made 'first valet' of Prince Henry's chamber.⁵¹⁴ His daughter, Janet, benefited a year later when her father was granted £200 'for help of [her] tocher gude'.⁵¹⁵

Although he did not begin service within the Stirling household, George Strachan, the royal *tapisier* served James from 1582 until the king's departure for England.⁵¹⁶ Although he repeatedly received his fee, there were no special gifts mentioned until 1591. After 1591, however, he received several gifts of escheat from the king: October 1591, November 1592, November 1593, July 1594, January 1600 and January 1602.⁵¹⁷ He was also granted a 'monks portion' of Coldingham Abbey in January 1594, and another monk's portion in December 1594.⁵¹⁸

A family with strong ties to service within the king's chamber was the Elphinstone family, primarily Michael, James and William. Michael served first as the king's server (1578-1580), then as king's carver (May 1580-April 1593) and finally as the king's master household (June 1592- 1605); James was the king's cupbearer (May 1580-1596); and William replaced Michael as server (November 1579-1596).⁵¹⁹ Most likely all three were the sons of Alexander, 2nd Lord Elphinstone and his wife Catherine Erskine.⁵²⁰ However, another possibility was James Elphinstone, son of Robert, 3rd Lord Elphinstone. He could have served as king's cupbearer before beginning his more politically active role as an Octavian, secretary and future Lord Balmerino. Furthermore, he had a brother William, although he reportedly died in Naples in 1588.⁵²¹

⁵¹¹ E.21/22, fo.32r; E.24/23, fo.30v.

⁵¹² E.21/67, fo.130r.

⁵¹³ E.24/24, fo.41r.

⁵¹⁴ PS.1/66, fo.133v.

⁵¹⁵ E.21/70, fo.163r.

⁵¹⁶ Appendix 1; E.24/25, fo.32r.

⁵¹⁷ PS.1/62, fo.194v; PS.1/64, fo.163v; PS.1/66, fos.3r, 185v; PS.1/71, fo.119r; PS.1/72, fo.235v.

⁵¹⁸ PS.1/66, fo.46v; PS.1/67, fo.69v.

⁵¹⁹ Appendix 1: master household, gentlemen servants.

⁵²⁰ *SP*, iii, 531-34. James was born in 1538, and twins Michael and William were born in 1544.

⁵²¹ *SP*, i, 556-62; *SP*, iii, 534-36.

Michael, obviously the favoured servitor, receiving numerous gifts of escheat: November 1589, July 1590, April 1593, August 1596, and September 1598.⁵²² In addition to those, he was granted a gift of liferent in July 1581, a £500 yearly pension in June 1592, and 1,000 merks as part of a pain of contravention in January 1601.⁵²³ William received a precept for a charter in November 1579 and a yearly fee of 300 merks as ‘server to the king for life’ in February 1580.⁵²⁴ James received only one gift of escheat, in October 1593.⁵²⁵ Again, this is only a record of those grants and gifts written in the exchequer accounts and privy seal records.

Jerome Bowie was another servitor who served since the king’s infancy. He held his office as master of the king’s wine cellar and sommelier from, at least, March 1568 until his death in October 1597. In March 1590 he was made general collector of the imposts of wine, for life, with a £60 yearly fee and a 13s 4d daily allowance for travels relating to this position.⁵²⁶ This was meant to allow easier provisions of wines to the king’s house. In December 1592 he was granted a daily wage of 30s 4d for ‘wailling and taisting’ of any wines furnished within the royal household.⁵²⁷

Bowie’s monetary rewards from the accounts were relatively minor. He received a £10 pension in 1588, 1589, 1591, 1592 and 1595.⁵²⁸ In December 1578 he was granted a £50 pension ‘for life’ from the archbishop of St Andrews⁵²⁹ although it is not known how often he actually received it. His only gift of escheat was in June 1581, although his servitor, John Douchall, was granted a gift of escheat in June 1593.⁵³⁰

Jerome’s son, James, was made master of Prince Henry’s wine cellar and cup house ‘for life with such fees and duties as his father’.⁵³¹ Three years later, James was appointed as master of the king’s wine cellar and sommelier upon the death of his father.⁵³² Through his duties as sommelier he received £200 in 1601 for his pains and

⁵²² PS.1/60, fo.97v; PS.1/61, fo.17v; PS.1/65, fo.66r; PS.1/68, fo.215v; PS.1/70, fo.71v.

⁵²³ RSS, viii, 381; PS.1/64, fo.35v; PS.1/72, fo.15r.

⁵²⁴ RSS, vii, 2062; RSS, viii, 88.

⁵²⁵ PS.1/65, fo.249v.

⁵²⁶ PS.1/60, fo.143r.

⁵²⁷ PS.1/64, fo.178v.

⁵²⁸ ER, xxi, 403; ER, xxii, 63, 147, 224; ER, xxiii, 57.

⁵²⁹ RSS, vii, 1746.

⁵³⁰ RSS, viii, 320; PS.1/65, fo.89r. Douchall was likely Bowie’s nephew.

⁵³¹ PS.1/67, fos.85r-v.

⁵³² PS.1/69, fo.176r.

labours in ‘wissitting testing and wyling’ of the king’s wines.⁵³³ Jerome’s wife, Margaret Douchall, served as the king’s laundress from his infancy but chose to remain in Scotland in 1603.⁵³⁴ When a larger court structure was introduced to the Stirling household, Margaret was appointed a laundress ‘for the claithis of our soverane lordis awin body and chalmer allanerlie’ for life, with an accompanying £30 fee.⁵³⁵ She was gifted with £41 19s 4d ‘for biging of twa houses’ in October 1579.⁵³⁶ This was undoubtedly related to the king’s official entry and the removal of his household from Stirling to Edinburgh.

Not all household servitors remained within the same office although, for the most part, they remained within the same general department. One such domestic was Cristell Lamb.⁵³⁷ Lamb began service in March 1568 as a groom in the king’s kitchen and remained there through 1579. He switched locations in 1580 to become a groom in the recently formed court kitchen. By February of the following year, he had worked his way up to foreman in that kitchen and remained there for 10 years. In July 1591, Lamb was appointed as master cook in the king’s kitchen and remained as such until James departed for London. In addition to his appointed fees and liveries he received £266 13s 4d in October 1592 for ‘clothing during the space of the account’.⁵³⁸ He also was granted three gifts of escheat: April 1592, September 1594 and May 1598.⁵³⁹ Obviously positions lower than master cook were not considered worthy of royal favour, at least not in Cristell Lamb’s case as his earliest gift came in April 1592, nearly a year after commencing as master cook.

James Murray’s career paralleled Cristell Lamb’s. Murray started his service as a foreman in the infant king’s kitchen and was noted there through August 1573. He disappeared from the records between that time and a May 1580 appointment as master cook in the court kitchen, a position that he retained through 1603. He received a gift of escheat in August 1591 and was granted the monks portion of Scone Abbey ‘with the chamber and yard thair of’ in January 1600.⁵⁴⁰

⁵³³ E.24/22, fo.41r.

⁵³⁴ Appendix 1; E.24/25, fo.32v.

⁵³⁵ RSS, vii, 1632.

⁵³⁶ TA, xiii, 290.

⁵³⁷ Appendix 1.

⁵³⁸ E.22/8, fo.183v.

⁵³⁹ PS.1/63, fo.241v; PS.1/67, fo.19v; PS.1/69, fo.264v.

⁵⁴⁰ PS.1/62, fo.157v; PS.1/73, fo.155r.

Another kitchen-related servitor was Patrick Rannald, who appeared as the king's pastry chef from March 1568 through 1580. In May 1580, and until the court moved south, he was recorded as the king's baker.⁵⁴¹ He received two unexplained payments, one for £30 in 1573 and another for £100 in June 1579;⁵⁴² three gifts of escheat, in July 1580, June 1594, and April 1598;⁵⁴³ and a one-time payment of £433 6s 8d for 'superexpenses' in December 1598.⁵⁴⁴ Furthermore, like other servitors from the early Stirling household, he received £133 6s 8d in March 1585 'for help to the bigging of his house'.⁵⁴⁵

It was not uncommon in James VI's household to find servitors of long-standing.⁵⁴⁶ John Morrison, the king's master gardener,⁵⁴⁷ served for the entire length of the reign. Elizabeth Richardson, gardener of the north yard at Holyroodhouse served at least 26 years and was assisted for much of the time by her son, Andrew Brown, who served 25 years, following his father's death. One of the king's ministers, John Duncanson, served at least 33 years. Another long-term domestic was the king's tailor, James Inglis, who was noted in accounts for 32 years. George Boag, master of the ale cellar, served 28 years and was replaced by his son, James, who finished out the Scottish reign, apparently as master of both the king's and queen's cellars. Also serving 28 years was Alexander Young of Eastfield, usher of the inner door of the king's chamber. Gilbert Primrose, surgeon, and Henry White, cordiner [i.e. shoemaker], were both noted for a space of 27 years.

Several servitors provided between 20 and 25 years of service. Alexander Barclay served as the king's apothecary for 25 years and as the queen's for at least nine. Assisting the above-mentioned, long-time valet of the chamber, William Murray, was John Gibb who, like Barclay, served 25 years. John Boag, master porter, and Frances Galbraith, aide, then master, of the pantry, also served 25 years. Finlay Taylor served his 24 years within the stable establishment, as a lackey before becoming clerk of the king's, and then the queen's, stables. Another William Murray,

⁵⁴¹ Appendix 1.

⁵⁴² *ER*, xx, 120; *TA*, xiii, 272.

⁵⁴³ *RSS*, vii, 2410; *PS*.1/66, fo.164v; *PS*.1/70, fo.24r.

⁵⁴⁴ E.21/72, transcript p.107.

⁵⁴⁵ E.22/6, fo.242v.

⁵⁴⁶ For all people mentioned see Appendix 1. It should be noted that these figures are simply estimates, as the persons in question could have served longer than the accounts imply, or for some reason they may have received payment although no longer fulfilling their specified duties.

⁵⁴⁷ The master gardener was in charge of Holyroodhouse's south yard.

the master of the baggage and husband of Castalian Band member Christian Lindsay, served at least 22 years. Alexander Morris, who cared for the tin vessels, appeared in accounts for 21 years, as did John Oliphant, averyman, and Alexander Moncrieff, master falconer. Rounding out the 20-year service club were Mr James Durham of Duntarvie, king's argenter, and John Drummond of Slipperfield, another usher of the inner door of the king's chamber.

William Schaw, master of works, retained his position for 19 years, as did his cousin, James Schaw, apparent of Sauchie, a gentleman in the king's chamber and hereditary, and honorary, master of the wine cellar. Robert Robertson, keeper of the silver vessels, and Charles Fortray, lackey, also appeared in the accounts for 19 years. John Malloch, like the above-mentioned Taylor, served his 18 years within the stables, rising from keeper of the king's hackneys to palfrenier to lackey. Thomas Fenton, keeper of the 'palace garden in the abbey',⁵⁴⁸ served the king for 17 years. Another of the king's tailors, Alexander Miller, served 16 years, as did Robert Erskine, keeper and servant to the king's pages.

Although not all of these long-term servitors profited from their positions within the royal household, many did. James was exceedingly generous was his closest and most trusted domestics. This is especially clear through his granting of funds to assist them in buying or enlarging their homes and making provisions to assist their children. They were, in effect, his extended family.

James may not have been raised with a mother, father and siblings of his own, but he seems to have adapted to his situation and created his own family. The Erskines were his foster family; the countess was the closest he had to a mother, and Alexander, master of Mar, the nearest equivalent of a father. Their children, John and Thomas, respectively, were like brothers. James seems to have treated Esmé's children as his own, providing for them, protecting them and always loving them. Finally, if the real relations became too much, James could turn to a different extended family; his loyal domestics, many of whom he knew better and longer than his blood relations. For an orphan, he was surrounded by a strong web of support, affection and love, and sometimes from the most unlikely sources.

⁵⁴⁸ Fenton appears to have been the keeper of the king's more exotic pets, such as the lion, lynx, tiger, and beaver. In other words, he was the zookeeper.

Chapter 3: Court Style

Scottish Style

Castiglione's view, as a courtier, of the ideal ruler was clear: 'He should be a prince of great splendour and generosity, giving freely to everyone ... He should hold magnificent banquets, festivals, games and public shows'.¹ David Loades, in his study of the Tudor court, best expresses the importance of the court:

The life of a king was a unity, and with rare and limited exceptions it was both public and political. Everything from his coronation to the smallest detail of his domestic arrangements was designed to contribute to his *maiestas*, that blend of dignity, magnificence and power which was necessary to ensure both the obedience of his own subjects and the respect of his fellow monarchs. His court was the vehicle through which this was accomplished.²

The court of James VI staged some of the magnificent events which Loades stipulated but the extent to which he accomplished this *maiestas* is questionable, not for lack of trying but rather due to a severe lack of money.

The report of Mary, queen of Scot's ambassador, Monsieur de Fontenay, from his visit to Scotland in 1584, should not be viewed as totally negative. It certainly provides the best description of the young king and his style, while the reports about James's demeanour, education, upbringing and household are very enlightening.

Three qualities of the mind he possesses in perfection: he understands clearly, judges wisely, and has a retentive memory. His questions are keen and penetrating and his replies are sound ... He is well instructed in languages, science, and affairs of state, better, I dare say, than anyone else in his kingdom. In short, he has a remarkable intelligence, as well as lofty and virtuous ideals and a high opinion of himself. ... He dislikes dancing and music, and the little affectations of courtly life such as amorous discourse or curiosities of dress, and has a special aversion for ear-rings. In speaking and eating, in his dress and in his sports, in his conversation in the presence of women, his manners are crude and uncivil and display a lack of proper instruction. He is never still in one place but walks constantly up and down, though his gait is erratic and wandering, and he tramps about even in his own chamber. His voice is loud and his words grave and sententious. He loves the chase above all other pleasures and will hunt for six hours without

¹ D. Loades, *The Tudor Court* (Bangor, 1992), 3.

² Loades, *Tudor Court*, 4.

interruption, galloping over hill and dale with loosened bridle. His body is feeble and yet he is not delicate. In a word, he is an old young man.³

This description does not seem to mesh with the Tudor *maiestas*, nor does it even come close. As Dr Loades states, a sixteenth-century polity lay very much in the eye of the beholder, and it was the function of the court to attract and train that eye.⁴ But to what extent is a positive image possible in a country where the king waited impatiently for his yearly annuity from his wealthier, and more powerful, cousin to the south, and whose court was too penurious to play at the same level as his contemporaries? However, James was exceedingly conscious of his kingship. He was also well aware of the honour and dignity associated with his position, and knew that the Stewart *maiestas* would be used to gauge his acceptability for the throne of England.

Royal Venues

The Scottish Jacobean court, as other Renaissance courts, did not limit itself to one location. James VI moved his household and court, for the most part, between six favoured locations: the Palace of Holyroodhouse, Stirling Castle, Linlithgow Palace, Falkland Palace, Dunfermline Abbey and Dalkeith Palace. There is little new in the choice of these locations as they were also widely used by his predecessors. Unlike his grandfather and great-grandfather who were building or improving palaces at every opportunity, James, with two notable exceptions during his time in Scotland, rarely had the money, or seemingly the inclination, to repair existing structures, much less improve them. Because of the quality of architectural work carried out on Scottish royal residences after 1603,⁵ it can be assumed that the primary factor behind James's resistance to earlier work was a lack of finances more than anything else. Due to limited adjustments made to the royal palaces during both his and his mother's

³ Willson, *James VI & I*, 53; James VI, *True Law*, 18.

⁴ Loades, *Tudor Court*, 8.

⁵ See A. MacKechnie, 'James VI's Architects and their Architecture', in Goodare and Lynch (eds.), *Reign of James VI*, 154-69.

reign, an image of the architectural surroundings of James VI's court can be gained from Andrea Thomas's recent work on James V's court.⁶

Problems arise when attempting to pinpoint the location of the king and his court at any specific time. The most reliable sources are the royal household books as they detailed the king's daily locations, his activities, the food he ate, and who joined him. Unfortunately there are only three existing household books from the reign of James VI.⁷ Therefore other sources must be utilised, the most useful being the register of the privy seal, as the seal, by definition, followed the king, the register of the privy council, as the privy, or secret, council usually followed the king, and the correspondence of foreign spies and agents, who made valiant attempts to follow the movements of everybody at court. For this study, primarily correspondence has been used to note the king's, queen's and court's whereabouts, as these included reasons for, and commentaries on, the royal migrations.

James VI was responsible for two major building projects, Stirling's chapel royal and Dunfermline Palace, before his move to England in 1603. A later project was the addition of Linlithgow Palace's north wing in preparation for his 1617 return to Scotland, although he never did visit it, and reconstruction on Edinburgh Castle. Nevertheless, James's masters of works were kept occupied with occasional large building projects as well as constant repairs to the royal residences. Four men held the office of master of works during the Scottish rule of James VI: Sir William McDowell, Sir Robert Drummond of Carnock, William Schaw of Sauchie, and David Cunningham of Robertland. McDowell was master of works to Mary and continued as such to James until 1579 when he either died or resigned.⁸ He was succeeded by Drummond who, although holding the office for only four years, made a thorough evaluation of the work that needed to be carried out on the royal palaces,⁹ giving a very clear picture of the disrepair into which many of the residences had fallen. It has been suggested that Drummond's short career, ending soon after James's escape from the Ruthven raiders, was a political move rather than a reflection of his competence.¹⁰

⁶ Many thanks to Dr Thomas for allowing me unlimited access to her Edinburgh University PhD thesis.

⁷ Appendix 4.

⁸ *MW*, i, xxvii; MacKechnie, 'James VI's Architects', 158.

⁹ *MW*, i, xxvii-xxviii; *RSS*, vii, 1875; MacKechnie, 'James VI's Architects', 159-61.

¹⁰ D. Stevenson, *The Origins of Freemasonry* (Cambridge, 1990), 28; MacKechnie, 'James VI's Architects', 160.

Schaw was made ‘grit maister of wark’ in December 1583, at the age of 33.¹¹

Cunningham first appeared in July 1602, after the death of Schaw, and held the office until his own death in 1607.¹²

It is Schaw who is of the most interest to this study as he was responsible for the major construction work while James resided in Scotland, even though his only existing accounts covered repairs to Holyroodhouse in 1599. A designer rather than a craftsman, Schaw held close court connections through his family who were hereditary keepers of the royal wine cellar.¹³ He was included in diplomatic missions, namely one to France in 1584 with his patron, Lord Seton. As one of the many courtiers who accompanied James on his mission to collect his young bride, Schaw was exposed both to Danish architecture and ‘one of the most artistically ambitious courts of Europe’. In addition to his responsibilities as master of works, he held the office of the queen’s chamberlain.¹⁴

Holyroodhouse

Holyroodhouse was the primary location for the royal court when it was in Edinburgh. Although Edinburgh Castle had in the past held an important position within the court calendar, it had since fallen into disuse as a royal residence, becoming little more than a location from which to shoot off the cannons at celebratory occasions and a well-guarded storehouse for royal papers, jewels and other important items. Fynes Moryson, an English gentleman-traveller, described Edinburgh as follows:

The City is high seated, in a fruitfull soyle and wholesome aire, and is adorned with many Noblemens Towers lying about it, and aboundeth with many springs of sweet waters. At the end towards the East, is the Kings Pallace ioyning to the Monastery of the Holy Crosse, which King Daud the first built, ouer which, a Parke of Hares, Conies [rabbits], and Deare.¹⁵

The focus of the court shifted downhill from the castle when James IV began construction in 1501 of a palace west of Holyrood Abbey’s monastic cloister, which

¹¹ *MW*, i, xxviii; *RSS*, viii, 1676; D. Howard, *Scottish Architecture: Reformation to Restoration: 1560-1660* (Edinburgh, 1995), 25; MacKechie, ‘James VI’s Architects’, 161; Stevenson, *Freemasonry*, 26.

¹² *MW*, i, xxvix; *PS*.1/73, 40v; MacKechie, ‘James VI’s Architects’, 165.

¹³ Appendix 1: James Schaw of Sauchie; Stevenson, *Freemasonry*, 27. Stevenson also suggests that Schaw could have been a page to Mary of Guise not long before her death.

¹⁴ Appendix 1; Howard, *Scottish Architecture*, 25-6, 29; Stevenson, *Freemasonry*, 28-30.

¹⁵ Moryson, *Itinerary*, iii, 273.

had in the past lodged Scotland's kings. James V started a new tower in 1528 in the northwest corner and work was done on the west range of James IV's quadrangular-plan palace. The king's chambers were located on the first floor of the new tower and consisted of an outer chamber on the east, an inner chamber on the west, and two stairways, turnpike and straight, which lead to the queen's matching rooms on the floor above. A slightly later stage of development included a new chapel in the south range and the construction of a forework in the new two-storey west range, which extended southward from the tower. This new construction, more formal than the tower, contained a first floor suite of outer, mid and inner chambers. Household office buildings were located south of the palace block: wardrobes, stables, avery, *tapisier*'s house, kitchens, bakehouse, vessel house, brewhouse, napery house, larders, spice house, glazier's house, king's mediciner, and sangsters.¹⁶ Holyrood's 'paynttyt chabyll' within the main chapel was repaired and new altar pillars carved in May 1559, two years prior to Mary's return.¹⁷ Regent Morton ordered the construction of a gallery along the north range of the north quarter in 1576-7, at a cost of £488 16s 2d, and the interior painted by Walter Binning.¹⁸

James remained in Stirling during his childhood and did not visit Holyroodhouse until October 1579, at which point much of the palace, with the exception of the king's new gallery, had fallen into severe disrepair.¹⁹ Repairs to the palace were not undertaken until just prior to the king's arrival and suggest the extent to which the palace had deteriorated. By the fall of 1579, the 'toureheid', the dancing house, the great hall, the entire forework, the back chambers on the east side, the two chimneys, and the north side of the chapel and stair required pointing and 'bettement', the chapel required a new 'payment', and several women were hired for 'dichting and clengeing' of the tower, the old hall, and the forework with its chambers, gallery and inner close. In addition, an enormous amount of new glass was installed: 546 feet to the chapel, 258 feet to the forework and the earl of Lennox's chamber, 116 feet to the old hall on the north side, 48 feet to the tower and the earl of Mar's chamber, and 51

¹⁶ Thomas, 'Court of James V', 92-4, 96, 97, 99-100, 101-02.

¹⁷ *MW*, i, 298.

¹⁸ *TA*, xiii, 150-1, 166; MacKechie, 'James VI's Architects', 158.

¹⁹ Howard, *Scottish Architecture*, 35. Regent Morton had concentrated on Edinburgh Castle. He built a semi-circular gun-terrace (the Half-Moon Battery) after the siege in 1573. Accounts from mid-1576 list various work done on the castle, perhaps associated with the new gun-terrace: *MW*, i, 299-301.

feet to Jerome Bowie's chamber, the porter's lodge, and John Craig's chamber.²⁰ A year later, George Hay, the king's slater, was contracted to 'beit, mend and poynt' the east quarter of the palace, the king's two stables, and the west and east sides of the cunyiehus. Repairs were also carried out on the Porter's Lodge, including the painting of the king's arms.²¹ Holyrood's chapel was next on the agenda although the mending of its seats and the timber necessary for repairs amounted to only thirty shillings.²² Further work in 1583 included repairs to the chimney in the king's chamber and hall passages between the king's chamber and the council house.²³

Hunting was always of primary importance to James, thus the importance of shelter for the king's horses and hounds is of no surprise. In October 1582, repairs were carried out on a 'hous within halirudhous' which was to shelter the king's hunting hounds.²⁴ The stables had been repaired in 1580 and were subject to more improvements between 1600 and 1601.²⁵ Nor were the king's garden and zoo left untouched. In March 1584, a timber wall was erected around the garden situated along the north side of the 'all grite hall upon the eist pairt of his hienes said palace'.²⁶ Three years later, a door was made for the 'lyon hous' in the abbey.²⁷

By May 1583, when Sir Robert Drummond of Carnock, master of works, inspected the royal palaces for necessary work, Holyroodhouse was in relatively decent shape. Drummond suggested a few additions to the palace chapel such as a new seat for the king, a timber chancel wall, and a new 'trym' pulpit along with repairs on the east gallery,²⁸ but no major problems. The chapel's steeple was repaired, at a cost of £100, in October 1594.²⁹ Repairs were carried out on the palace in preparation for the queen's arrival from Denmark, but unfortunately those accounts no longer exist. Much work had to be done to prepare the palace for a queen. It was reported in August 1589 that James hurried to Edinburgh to 'give order and hasten his building' because '[the queen's] coming is so sudden that none of the king's houses

²⁰ *MW*, i, 302, 304, 305.

²¹ *MW*, i, 308-9; E.21/61, fo.54v.

²² E.21/62, fo.114v.

²³ E.21/63, fo.110v.

²⁴ E.21/63, fo.82v.

²⁵ *MW*, i, 308-9; E.21/61, fo.54v; E.21/74, fo.108v.

²⁶ E.22/6, fo.156v.

²⁷ E.21/65, fo.115r.

²⁸ *MW*, i, 312.

²⁹ E.21/70, fo.130r.

can be fit to receive her'.³⁰ With the queen expected at any time and the king 'half amazed...he knows not which way to turn, having no house ready to receive the queen', it was hoped she could be delayed 10 to 12 days in Leith, until the palace could be made ready.³¹

The most frequent repairs concerned the many glass windows within the palace. In February 1582, the glazier received £44 1s 4d for repairing the glass windows in the dancing chamber, the wardrobe and the long gallery. More glass was furnished in January 1583, although its destination was not specified. Repairs to the palace in October 1593 included the use of glass, lime, sand and other materials.³² Between August and October 1599, materials, including glass, slate and ironwork, amounting to £361 5s 2d, were used on repairs to the palace.³³ A large amount of glazier work was carried out on Holyrood Abbey during 1599, including £127 19s 5d worth of materials and labour in April. The cost of window repairs appeared again in March 1601.³⁴

Master of works accounts do exist for Holyroodhouse from August until November 1599. Again, the primary focus was on repairs, mainly roofing: the court kitchen, the queen's kitchen, the king's kitchen, and Sir Thomas Erskine's chamber. The court kitchen seemingly was in very poor condition as it required new walls and a new roof. Less essential were the great fir trees, roof spars and planks needed to repair the king's billiard table.³⁵ Unspecified work was carried out on the abbey at the same time by James Murray who received payment of £123 13s 4d.³⁶ English correspondence from February 1600 stated that the palace was 'altogether ruinous'.³⁷ If this was true, then it must be hoped that the above repairs were only the start of a thorough refurbishment process. Indeed, between March 1600 and March 1601, repairs costing £1,307 13s 10d were undertaken on several areas within the palace.³⁸

An interesting addition to the palace grounds, and dated from the late-sixteenth century, was a building called 'Queen Mary's Bathhouse' which stood at the

³⁰ *CSP Scot.*, x, no.199.

³¹ *CSP Scot.*, x, no.201.

³² E.21/62, fo.173v; E.21/63, fo.107v; E.21/69, fo.226v.

³³ E.21/73, fo.84r.

³⁴ E.21/73, fos.40r, 88v; E.21/74, fo.109r.

³⁵ *MW*, i, 315-17, 318, 321.

³⁶ E.21/73, fo.88v.

³⁷ *CSP Scot.*, xiii, no.496.

³⁸ E.21/74, fo.108v.

corner of the king's privy garden. It has been suggested that garden pavilions containing hot baths were not unknown in Scotland at that period and thus it is possible that the bathhouse was actually used as its name implies.³⁹ It would appear that, for the most part, the palace inhabited by James VI was very similar in layout to the one completed by his grandfather. The primary difference was that James V enjoyed a fresh new palace while James VI managed with a partly crumbling, out-dated one. If the state of Holyroodhouse was as bad as reports seemed to suggest, it is no wonder that most foreign visitors to the court were lodged in Edinburgh's best accommodations and that James was so delighted to move into the grand palaces of England.

It was within the above settings that James and his courtiers lived, worked and played. The king spent a large amount of time at Holyroodhouse, primarily because Edinburgh, as the country's capital, was the location of all governmental agencies as well as becoming the primary location for meetings of parliament. A number of the king's domestics, too, had acquired homes within the burghs of Edinburgh and Canongate.⁴⁰ Winters were usually spent ensconced in Holyroodhouse although there were a few notable exceptions. One factor that tended to deter the king from Holyroodhouse was sickness; Edinburgh, being large, crowded, and near a busy port, was susceptible to illness and disease. In January 1586, 'now the plague is quenched in Edinburgh', the king returned to Holyroodhouse where he remained for the rest of the winter.⁴¹

The extant household books⁴² provide some insight into the frequency of the palace's use. The accounts include the visit of Anna's brother, although it is doubtful that James altered his schedule much as a result. For those accounts that survive, James is shown to have been at Holyroodhouse sporadically between January and April of 1598. After a fortnight in Linlithgow and Stirling, the king and his train returned to Holyroodhouse where they resided until 3 July. Anna's accounts placed her at Holyroodhouse for four months in mid-1598 before she and her court moved to Dalkeith. The continuation of the accounts in May 1599 placed the queen at Holyroodhouse where she remained until a move in mid-June to Falkland. She was

³⁹ Howard, *Scottish Architecture*, 43.

⁴⁰ B.22/1/30-33, B.22/22/25-28.

⁴¹ *CSP Scot.*, viii, no.233.

⁴² Appendix 4.

back at Holyroodhouse on 15 September and remained there until the end of the accounts.

It can be assumed that such frequent use of Holyroodhouse was, by the 1590s, the norm rather than the exception. Anna's extended presence there ended once reconstruction of Dunfermline Palace was completed. James, on the other hand, continually visited Holyroodhouse even if only sporadically.⁴³ Furthermore, the town of Edinburgh was important as the arrival point of all visiting dignitaries, either travelling by sea or land, and as the capital it was the location for grand entries and celebrations, such as the king's entry in 1579 and the queen's entry in May 1590.⁴⁴

Stirling

Stirling Castle was another favoured royal residence. Moryson hoped to visit Stirling during his travels but was unexpectedly recalled to England before he had the opportunity. That did not stop him from describing what he had heard of the town:

I purposed to take my journey as farre as *Striuelin*, where the King of the Scots hath a strong Castle, built upon the front of a steepe Rocke, which King Iames the sixth since adorned with many buildings, and the same hath for long time beene committed to the keeping of the Lords of *Erskin*, who likewise use to haue the keeping of the Prince of *Scotland*, being under yeeres.⁴⁵

The castle that James VI inhabited was, like Holyroodhouse, primarily the work of his grandfather. Although the castle itself dates back centuries, the interior palace block, much of which still stands today, was built around 1538.⁴⁶ The palace block on the south side, an adjacent freestanding great hall that was connected by a neo-Gothic bridge on the east, the chapel royal to the north, and an adjacent range of buildings on the west provided the boundaries of an upper square within the castle. A range of

⁴³ That is, he tended to stay at Holyroodhouse whenever he was not hunting or travelling about the countryside.

⁴⁴ Edinburgh should have been the site of the queen's coronation as well, but due to problems with Edinburgh's ministers, the coronation was held at Holyroodhouse, and hence in the burgh of the Canongate.

⁴⁵ Moryson, *Itinerary*, iii, 274.

⁴⁶ R. Fawcett, *Stirling Castle* (Historic Scotland, 1995), 24.

⁴⁶ Thomas, 'Court of James V', 115.

vaulted kitchens and offices located below the great hall, now wonderfully restored, was possibly built in 1542.⁴⁷

The palace block itself formed a quadrangle around a small inner courtyard, the 'lion's den'. The east quarter held the royal bedchambers and cabinets, with the queen's bedchamber adjoining the king's. Along the north quarter resided the king's presence chamber and outer hall, with a similar layout for the queen on the south quarter. Entrance to the palace was gained through the northwest corner. The great hall, connected to the palace at the dais end, contained a musicians loft above the vestibule entrance, a balcony near the middle of the east wall and was heated by five large fireplaces. High-set windows provided light and allowed for the hanging of tapestries in the main body of the hall while two large bay windows flanked the royal dais.⁴⁸

After the construction in the reign of James V very little was changed at Stirling Castle. Mary of Guise is thought to have been responsible for the construction of a spur-shaped battery in front of James IV's forework.⁴⁹ However, that did not affect the royal living spaces, which remained as they were in the early 1540s. James VI's second master of works had some extremely ambitious plans for Stirling Castle. Drummond, in his survey of the royal palaces in May 1583, listed not only the castle's many problems but provided a series of suggestions for new work. According to him, the great hall was in need of repair because not only were the walls leaking water but also the roof was collecting so much 'that it shall rott the roof of the hall'. The forework towers were 'naked and without skalze' and the large windows in the palace's court hall needed work. As for the chapel royal, the roof leaked so badly that 'the kingis hienes may nocht weill remane within the same in tyme off weitt or rane' and therefore required replacing.⁵⁰

Drummond's most ambitious suggestions concerned the west quarter, with its broken and decayed roof, which he suggested 'be all tane downe to the grownd thane to big and beild the same up agane in the maist plesand maner that can be dewyssit'. He thought that its prime location with the most pleasing views, notably the deer park,

⁴⁷ Fawcett, *Stirling Castle*, 24.

⁴⁸ Thomas, 'Court of James V', 115-17; Fawcett, *Stirling Castle*, 18-20.

⁴⁹ Fawcett, *Stirling Castle*, 4. This battery was likely related to her installation of a French garrison in the castle.

⁵⁰ *MW*, i, 310.

garden and views of the waters of the Forth, Teith, Allan and Goodie, required a 'fair gallery' on one side and a 'tarras' built high upon the other. In addition to the west quarter construction, and to improve the entire upper square, he suggested rebuilding the chapel near the 'northe bak wall' so that a future queen 'with her tryne off ladyis' could pass from the new west work into the chapel loft, presumably without being exposed to the elements. He did note that these changes 'wilbe large expens'.

Drummond was not a great admirer of the existing palace block. He admitted that James V's 'new work' was 'maist substantious' and 'maist plesand' but the location was 'nocht gwid nor plesand in respect thair can na plesand sycht be had' and suggests that if 'this uther new work wer beildit' the king would no doubt prefer to live there.⁵¹

James did not use Stirling Castle for extended stays between his departure from the schoolroom and the birth of his first son, although he continued to make frequent visits to the castle. His childhood years were likely spent in James V's palace block. Drummond's suggestions for repairs indicated few problems within the 'new work', thus it can be assumed that some attempt was made to keep at least that area liveable. As a young king who expected very few visitors, the great hall would rarely have been used. Obviously, very little maintenance was performed on low-use buildings such as the great hall and west range. That the chapel royal was ignored is surprising in light of the young king's staunch Calvinist upbringing. Either a small chapel had been erected somewhere within the palace block, the Erskines and their royal charge attended kirk elsewhere, or James simply was dripped upon if services were held during inclement weather. One other possibility is a garrison chapel that has been discovered at the junction of the palace block and the king's Old Building.⁵²

The only mention of early repair worked by James VI on the castle occurred in February 1582 through a payment to John Wardlaw, burgess of Edinburgh, of £155 2s 6d for planks and roof spars to repair the king's stables.⁵³ Concentration on the stables is hardly surprising considering James's preoccupation with the hunt and the importance of suitable protection for the only means of transportation, horses.

⁵¹ *MW*, i, 310-11; Howard, *Scottish Architecture*, 30.

⁵² Thanks to Michael Lynch for bringing this discovery to my attention.

⁵³ E.21/62, fo.174v.

With the anticipated arrival of the first royal baby, James made plans to return to Stirling Castle. But before this could occur, repairs were ordered by the king and council on the palace which was ‘presently in decay and ruin’ and unfit for the queen’s delivery.⁵⁴ The master of works received payment in November 1593 for unspecified repairs to Stirling Castle at a cost of £333 6s 8d.⁵⁵ Upon arrival in Stirling at the end of December 1593, repairs were as yet unfinished and the queen was required to reside in the home of Lady Mar.⁵⁶ More repairs were carried out in November 1598 for £100 8s.⁵⁷ The castle’s glasswork was also the subject of improvement in August 1599, and again between September 1600 and March 1601.⁵⁸

Due to a lack of available financing, Drummond’s suggestions for palace repairs, detailed above, were seemingly never implemented. The only exception was the chapel royal, rebuilt for the baptism of James’s son and heir. As previously stated, the existing chapel had a severe leaky-roof problem. The queen’s secretary, William Fowler, claimed that it was ‘ruinous and too little’ and a new one should be ‘more large, long and glorious...to entertaine the great number of strangers expected’.⁵⁹ This was a low, single-storey rectangular building, built on nearly the same site as the previous chapel royal, containing three pairs of windows within arched frames on either side of a triumphal-arched shaped central doorway.⁶⁰ The funds collected for the rebuilding and festivities amounted to no less than £100,000, which was raised by a special tax in 1593.⁶¹ The work, overseen by the king himself, was carried out by ‘the greatest number of Artificers in the whol Cuntrie, convened there, of all craftes for that service...with large and liberall payment’.⁶² The interior of the chapel was covered in painted decorations, expensive tapestries, and other wall hangings. Surviving paintwork shows the royal arms and crowns alternating with colourful bunches of fruit suspended from swirling ropes encircling the chapel at frieze level. Upwards towards the ceiling was an ‘illusionistic’ cornice with egg-and-dart and dentilled moulding and roof timbers painted blue and decorated in flower patterns. The

⁵⁴ *CSP Scot.*, xi, no.186.

⁵⁵ E.21/70, fo.83r.

⁵⁶ See *The Royal Household: Creation of Anna’s Scottish Household*.

⁵⁷ E.21/72, transcript p.91. There is no mention as to what these repairs entailed.

⁵⁸ E.21/73, fo.71v; E.21/74, fo.109r.

⁵⁹ Fowler, ‘True Reportaire’, 2v; Howard, *Scottish Architecture*, 30.

⁶⁰ Fawcett, *Stirling Castle*, 14; Howard, *Scottish Architecture*, 31.

⁶¹ Fowler, ‘True Reportaire’, 2v; Howard, *Scottish Architecture*, 30.

⁶² Fowler, ‘True Reportaire’, 3r-v; Howard, *Scottish Architecture*, 30-1.

king's throne sat in the royal enclosure in the northeast corner, flanked by seats for the visiting ambassadors.⁶³

Sometime after Henry's birth at Stirling in February 1594, Anna returned to Holyroodhouse where she stayed until mid-April. The move back to Stirling was a major one as William Schaw was given £1,000 in May 1595 to help cover those costs.⁶⁴ The king and queen were expected to divide that summer between stays at Stirling and Falkland.⁶⁵ As one of the summer locations of the king and court, Stirling played host to special occasions such as the marriage of Lord Glamis in June 1595, at which the king and queen were to be present.⁶⁶ A year after the baptism of his own son, James visited Stirling to take part in the baptism of the earl of Mar's son.⁶⁷ Details of this baptism are not available, but it is likely that it also was held in Stirling's chapel royal, especially as the chapel was as yet so new. A little over a year later the king returned for the baptism of Mar's daughter.⁶⁸

Apart from a few special occasions, Stirling Castle appears to have been used as a 'stopping off' point on the king's travels between towns, or more specifically, between hunting parties. As for the queen, with the exception of a few attempts to obtain custody of her son, she avoided the castle, and her great adversaries, the Erskines of Mar, whenever possible.

Dalkeith

Perhaps the most interesting aspect of one of the king's favoured locations, Dalkeith Palace, was that it was not a royal residence. The fact that James and Anna were simply 'guests' in someone else's home is made all the more intriguing by their seeming inability to realise that themselves. Not that royal use of Dalkeith Palace was in any way a new concept. At the turn of the fifteenth century, Dalkeith had been erected as a burgh of barony for James Douglas of Dalkeith.⁶⁹ It was at Dalkeith

⁶³ Howard, *Scottish Architecture*, 33.

⁶⁴ E.21/70, fo.158v.

⁶⁵ *CSP Scot.*, xi, nos.512, 514.

⁶⁶ *CSP Scot.*, xi, nos.539, 540.

⁶⁷ *CSP Scot.*, xi, nos.593, 594.

⁶⁸ *CSP Scot.*, xii, no.283.

⁶⁹ E. P. Dennison and R. Coleman, *1998 Historic Dalkeith: the archaeological implications of development*, published by Historic Scotland in association with Scottish Cultural Press, Edinburgh. (Scottish Burgh Survey 1998), 5. Douglas was later to become the 1st earl of Morton.

Castle that James IV met his future bride, Margaret Tudor, recently arrived from England. When plague necessitated removal from Edinburgh in September 1519, it was considered a worthy temporary home for James V and his court.⁷⁰ Dalkeith must have appealed to James V as he was again in residence in 1525, 1526 and in 1536. Mary, queen of Scots also visited for a few days around the end of 1565.⁷¹

James VI's regent, James Douglas, 4th earl of Morton, rebuilt Dalkeith Castle into a 'magnificent palace' where the young king was entertained 'with great honour' in 1579 just days prior to his official entry into Edinburgh.⁷² Morton, unfortunately, found himself on the wrong side of the growing Lennox-Arran court faction, was accused in December 1580 of being an accessory to the murder of the king's father, and was executed in June 1581. His lands, including Dalkeith, were rendered to the king in March 1581 and granted soon after to James's cousin, Esmé Stewart, who in August 1581 was proclaimed 'duke of Lennox, Lord Darnley, Lord Torbowton, Dalkeith, and Tantallon'.⁷³

Royal use of Dalkeith Palace increased significantly under its control by the duke of Lennox. A split between the Lennox and Arran factions, following Esmé's creation as a duke, led, for a brief time, to separate meetings of the council: Arran's council sat at Holyroodhouse and Lennox's council, with the king, met at Dalkeith.⁷⁴ At least 20 privy council meetings were held in Dalkeith between 1569 and 1578, more than 23 between 1578 and 1585, at least 13 from 1585 to 1592, and 18 or more from 1592 to 1604.⁷⁵

Ownership of Dalkeith Palace is complicated to follow. The lands reverted back to the house of Douglas in 1584, two years after Lennox's departure from Scotland and a year after his death in France.⁷⁶ In the meantime the earldom of Morton had passed to John, 8th Lord Maxwell after his uncle's execution. The grant

⁷⁰ Dennison and Coleman, *Historic Dalkeith*, 21.

⁷¹ Dennison and Coleman, *Historic Dalkeith*, 22.

⁷² Dennison and Coleman, *Historic Dalkeith*, 22; *CSP Scot.*, iv, p.677, 680; v, p.358. No descriptions exist of the palace during James's reign, but it is thought to have looked much like the view drawn by John Slezer in 1690: K. Cavers, *A Vision of Scotland: The Nation Observed by John Slezer 1671 to 1717* (Edinburgh, 1993), 85; Dennison and Coleman, *Historic Dalkeith*, figure 8.

⁷³ Bowes, *Correspondence*, lxxxv; *RPC*, iii, 414f, 506, 538; Dennison and Coleman, *Historic Dalkeith*, 22.

⁷⁴ *RPC*, iii, 428f, 416f, 435f. These double councils sat until February 1582.

⁷⁵ Dennison and Coleman, *Historic Dalkeith*, 21; *RPC*, ii, 765; *RPC*, iii, 801; *RPC*, iv, 877; *RPC*, v, 815; *RPC*, vi, 909.

⁷⁶ Dennison and Coleman, *Historic Dalkeith*, 22; *RPC*, iii, 580.

of the Morton estates was rescinded and given to Archibald, earl of Angus in January 1586.⁷⁷ In 1588 they devolved upon Sir William Douglas of Lochleven who became the 5th earl of Morton. It was reported in late-December 1588 that the earldom of Morton would go to Sir William Douglas of Lochleven while the duke of Lennox laid claim to the lordship of Dalkeith, which it was thought James would approve.⁷⁸ However, a charter of 20 June 1589 would appear to have granted the Castle of Dalkeith to Lochleven's wife, Agnes Leslie, and the earldom of Morton to himself.⁷⁹ It seems that the palace did indeed revert back to Lochleven according to reports in March 1591 that the king and queen left for Dalkeith, 'the house of the earl of Morton'.⁸⁰

Regardless who held the rights to the land and palace, although it was certainly not the king, James continued to make use of the palace. It was thought he would borrow Dalkeith for Anna's use at her arrival in Scotland as it was 'the nighest fair house to Edinburgh'. The inhabitants of Dalkeith were instructed to supply 'meit, drink and ludgeing at their reasonable expenses' if the queen did arrive.⁸¹ Anna, however, did not go to Dalkeith upon her arrival as thought but rather stayed several days in Leith before continuing to Holyroodhouse.

James certainly enjoyed visiting Dalkeith for the hunting that it provided him, often travelling back and forth between Dalkeith and Falkland.⁸² James and Anna visited in March 1591, where they were expected to stay six or seven weeks. Royal interest in Dalkeith was noted by Ambassador Bowes:

It is thought that the pleasures about that house shall allure the King and Queen to like better thereof then the owner would wish, cheefely untill the former restitucions made to Morton shalbe confirmed by parliamente, after that the King have accomplished the age of twenty five yeeres.⁸³

It is unclear just how well Anna liked Dalkeith. In March 1592, with the king residing at Linlithgow, the queen was sent to Dalkeith 'where she likes not to abide'.⁸⁴

⁷⁷ *SP*, vi, 388-9, 482-4.

⁷⁸ *CSP Scot.*, ix, nos.561, 564.

⁷⁹ *SP*, vi, 371.

⁸⁰ *CSP Scot.*, x, no.537.

⁸¹ Dennison and Coleman, *Historic Dalkeith*, 22; *CSP Scot.*, x, no.199; *RPC*, iv, 596.

⁸² *CSP Scot.*, viii, nos.373, 376.

⁸³ *CSP Scot.*, x, no.537.

⁸⁴ *CSP Scot.*, x, no.665.

She was still residing at Dalkeith on 18 April.⁸⁵ It was from Dalkeith in August of that year, with both James and Anna present, that the laird of Logie escaped with the assistance of one of Anna's maidens.⁸⁶ The court was still resident for the marriage of the earl of Mar and Mistress Mary Stewart, one of Lennox's sisters, on 1 October 1592, after which the king proposed to return, finally, to Holyroodhouse for the winter season.⁸⁷

Royal household books provide some insight into the movements of the king and queen from November 1597 through October 1599, although there were several months of unaccounted activity.⁸⁸ On 18 June the king rode to Dalkeith for supper, spent the next morning hawking, dined again in Dalkeith and rode on to Crichton for supper. He returned to Dalkeith to hunt in mid-August 1598, was back on 12 September, and stayed until 2 October. The most interesting item from that visit was the king's sudden departure for Falkland on 21 September at four o'clock in the morning, leaving his entourage behind, but returning to Dalkeith at night on 23 September. The master household found it necessary to mention that the queen was also at Dalkeith on the day the king departed. Due to the extreme hour of departure and the quick return, it could be assumed that James and Anna had fought the night before and James escaped to Falkland for some solitude. Anna was, at that time, quite pregnant and probably not in the best of tempers.

Anna's existing household books also noted a large amount of time spent in Dalkeith. She travelled to Dalkeith from Holyroodhouse on 29 July 1598 and remained there through 31 October, when the accounts end. It was noted a few days before her departure that she 'is altered' and would not travel with the king to Falkland but rather 'lie at Dalkeith'.⁸⁹ Obviously, another way of stating that the queen was again pregnant. Reports from mid-September suggested that because Anna planned 'to be brought to bed there' James too would remain at Dalkeith for most of the winter.⁹⁰ The king rode to Dalkeith on 20 November⁹¹ and presumably remained

⁸⁵ *CSP Scot.*, x, no.678.

⁸⁶ *CSP Scot.*, x, no.735.

⁸⁷ *CSP Scot.*, x, nos.753, 754, 756.

⁸⁸ Appendix 4.

⁸⁹ *CSP Scot.*, xiii, no.179.

⁹⁰ *CSP Scot.*, xiii, no.207.

⁹¹ *CSP Scot.*, xiii, no.261.

there until Margaret was born on Christmas Eve, at which time court revelries were noted to have offended many of the more strict Protestant ministers.⁹²

It seems to have been widely assumed that Anna and her court frequently resided at Dalkeith, considering that Moryson, on his way into Edinburgh, reported: ‘...towards the West, and something out of the high way, the Queen of Scots then kept her Court (in the absence of the King) at the village *Dawkeith*, in a Pallace belonging to the Earle of *Murray*.⁹³ Anna, indeed, seems to have moved beyond her initial dislike of Dalkeith, choosing to visit in April 1601⁹⁴ and was expected again in July 1602, at which time the king was attempting to deal with the earl of Morton for house and yards.⁹⁵

Dunfermline

Dunfermline, as part of the queen’s jointure, was a frequent location for Anna’s court. Dunfermline Abbey had seen much use by Scotland’s royalty in its life as a monastic guesthouse. James I was born in the abbey and housed some of his children there, while James IV and Queen Margaret as well as James V and Mary of Guise made occasional visits.⁹⁶ The most likely reason that little work had been done on the abbey prior to Anna’s arrival was that it had only been formally annexed to the crown in 1587,⁹⁷ and the queen was not invested with the abbacy of Dunfermline until June 1593. Even at that late date not all of the lands were available for her as parts of the lordship of Dunfermline had been purchased by the chancellor, the comptroller and Sir Robert Melville of Murdocairny. Therefore it was claimed that several parts were ‘in process’ and could not be recovered into the queen’s hands before ‘the suits in law shall be determined’.⁹⁸

Previous guests to the abbey had been accommodated in lodgings on the west side of the medieval cloister. It has been suggested that an earlier conversion of the royal guesthouse at the abbey into a palace with a tall, heavily buttressed façade and

⁹² Dennison and Coleman, *Historic Dalkeith*, 22; *RPC*, v, 507.

⁹³ Moryson, *Itinerary*, iii, 273.

⁹⁴ *CSP Scot.*, xiii, no.588.

⁹⁵ *CSP Scot.*, xiii, no.839.

⁹⁶ J.G. Dunbar, *Scottish Royal Palaces: The Architecture of the Royal Residences during the Late Medieval and Early Renaissance Periods* (East Linton, 1999), 88.

⁹⁷ Howard, *Scottish Architecture*, 28.

⁹⁸ *CSP Scot.*, xi, no.63.

overlooking a glen, was accomplished by James V.⁹⁹ Another proposal is that this range was adapted from monastic use for court lodgings rather than a James V, or James IV, inspired palace.¹⁰⁰

Details on the construction of the Queen's House at Dunfermline are very sketchy. The primary buildings of the palace have been described as grouped in a quadrangular plan around an upper courtyard and sited to the west of the abbey. The southwest, or principal, range was 'perched' on the edge of a steep drop to Pittencrieff Glen. A wing off the northwest end of the principal range was connected to the Queen's House, likely by a gallery. The Queen's House itself was located at the west front of the kirk and 'incorporated an arched pend giving access to the court'. The 'Royal Apartments' were located in the south and west, Queen Anne's 'Jointure-house' to the north, and the kirk and remains of the monastery to the east. In the southeast corner was a medieval gatehouse giving access to the lower courtyard, which contained a mews 'for stables, hawks and hounds' and their officers. As for the old monastic cloister, it was apparently converted into a tennis court. However, it appears that, unlike Holyroodhouse, Dunfermline Palace did not have its own chapel thus the king likely worshipped in a designated section of the abbey kirk.¹⁰¹

As with Holyroodhouse before James's arrival in 1579, efforts, worth £400, were made to repair the lodgings before the queen's first visit to Dunfermline.¹⁰² Modernisation was carried out on the south-facing guest wing which included the installation of new fireplaces and, possibly, large cross-mullioned windows. It has been suggested that the design of the palace, a symmetrical, castellated palace block with a central tower, was very reminiscent of Danish architecture and likely a result of William Schaw's visit to the Danish court.¹⁰³

It is unfortunate that the only major construction of a palace by James VI has so few records extant. With the exception of Stirling's chapel royal, little of James's building projects have survived, as both the north range of Linlithgow and the Queen's House in Dunfermline are simply shells. An additional problem with Dunfermline is that no contemporary descriptions of the palace survive, the closest

⁹⁹ M. Glendinning *et al.*, *A History of Scottish Architecture: From the Renaissance to the Present Day* (Edinburgh, 1997), 19.

¹⁰⁰ Dunbar, *Royal Palaces*, 90.

¹⁰¹ Dunbar, *Royal Palaces*, 90-1, 94.

¹⁰² Howard, *Scottish Architecture*, 26.

¹⁰³ Howard, *Scottish Architecture*, 26-7; Glendinning, *Scottish Architecture*, 38-9.

depictions coming between 90 and 120 years after its primary use.¹⁰⁴ It leads one to question the quality of building supplies utilised during James's reign, or more aptly, to question the quality for which James was willing to pay.

Certainly work progressed on the Queen's House for several years. In August 1599, the king's master wright, James Murray, was directed by the master of works out of Dunfermline to Holyroodhouse to oversee much needed repairs at that palace.¹⁰⁵ It has been suggested that remodelling of the northwest portion of the principal range, and its large, central oriel window, possibly dates from that period.¹⁰⁶ A Latin inscription on the Queen's House gives Anna's name and a year of 1600, suggesting that the house had been rebuilt and enlarged and occupied the same position as the north gatehouse of the medieval palace.¹⁰⁷ Whatever was done on the palace was seemingly to her liking, being referred to as 'the ordinar residence of the Queen'.¹⁰⁸ Several years later, a visitor to Linlithgow described the 'Queen's palace' as 'a delicate and princely mansion...with faire gardens, orchards, medows'.¹⁰⁹

Royal use of Dunfermline in the 1590s is far easier to determine than descriptions of the palace itself. An early example of a royal visit occurred in December 1588 when the king and chancellor departed for Dunfermline 'to be merry for three or four days'.¹¹⁰ The Danish commissioners, however, were not so pleased with Dunfermline in May 1590. Their assessment, after viewing the properties to be included as Anna's bridal portion, Falkland, Dunfermline and Linlithgow, was that the properties were 'much under the value they looked for, and the houses in some decay'.¹¹¹ Anna's first impressions of the royal residences seem to have been of great importance to James. At the start of July 1590, James rode to Dunfermline and Falkland to ensure personally that both residences were prepared for himself and the queen.¹¹²

Dunfermline became a favoured spot for the queen and her court to reside. That Dunfermline Abbey was hers, not only to be adapted and decorated as she saw

¹⁰⁴ Mackey's Tour, published 1723, and Slezer's views, c.1693: Dunbar, *Royal Palaces*, 90-1.

¹⁰⁵ *MW*, i, 320.

¹⁰⁶ Dunbar, *Royal Palaces*, 93.

¹⁰⁷ Dunbar, *Royal Palaces*, 90; Howard, *Scottish Architecture*, 28.

¹⁰⁸ Howard, *Scottish Architecture*, 28-9.

¹⁰⁹ Howard, *Scottish Architecture*, 29.

¹¹⁰ *CSP Scot.*, ix, no.549.

¹¹¹ *CSP Scot.*, x, no.403.

¹¹² *CSP Scot.*, x, no.440.

fit but free of strong connections with the king, was likely one reason why it appealed to Anna so much. Stirling was overly connected with James's childhood and the Erskines of Mar, Dalkeith belonged to the earl and countess of Morton, Falkland and Holyroodhouse were so frequently in use by the court, and Linlithgow was used primarily as a convenient bed *en-route* to a further location. Therefore it was only natural that Dunfermline became the focus of the queen's attention and the residence in which she was the most comfortable. Three of her children were born there: Elizabeth, Charles, and Robert.

James and Anna were expected to move from Falkland to Dunfermline in August 1597 but 'plague' in the town forced a change of plan.¹¹³ They did not entirely cancel their plans to visit Dunfermline as the king was noted having breakfast in Dunfermline on 1 November 1597. Although accounts are missing for the last month and a half of 1597, James apparently did not return to Dunfermline at any time before 31 October 1598. As for the queen, she travelled to Dunfermline on 23 August 1599 and remained until 14 September 1599 when she returned to Holyroodhouse.¹¹⁴ The most likely reason for this lack of travel to Dunfermline is that major construction was taking place at the abbey in that period.

By August 1600, Anna was again at Dunfermline¹¹⁵ and remained there until the birth of Charles on 19 November. It would seem that all construction and repairs had been completed on the royal lodgings by then as Anna began spending significantly more time at Dunfermline. In August 1601, the English agent reported that Anna ordered 'all her household stuff' transported to Dunfermline.¹¹⁶ Three months later, she was preparing 'a lodging for her children' in an attempt to gain custody first of Elizabeth and then of Henry.¹¹⁷ Anna remained in Dunfermline where she gave birth to Robert on 18 January 1602. In March of that year the king's servitor, Roger Aston, fell 'over a pair of high stone stairs at the queen's chamber door at Dunfermline'. Thankfully Aston recovered, but it is interesting to note that one of the king's favoured servitors was waiting upon the queen. Furthermore, James Hudson's reaction to Aston's fall gives interesting insight into the queen's

¹¹³ *CSP Scot.*, xiii, no.53.

¹¹⁴ Appendix 4.

¹¹⁵ *CSP Scot.*, xiii, no.539.

¹¹⁶ *CSP Scot.*, xiii, no.705.

¹¹⁷ *CSP Scot.*, xiii, no.730.

surroundings: 'I think it impossible for him to recover, knowing the place as I do to be so perilous, where a nobleman already broke his neck and dashed out all his brains.'¹¹⁸ A visitor to Dunfermline Palace c.1720 stated that Anna had 'built an apartment for her self, at top of the entry or pen'd, with a gallery of communication with the royal apartments'.¹¹⁹ An apartment situated at the top of an entry would certainly support the existence of 'high stone stairs' which could cause serious injury.

Linlithgow

Linlithgow Palace was, like Holyroodhouse and Falkland, arranged on a quadrangular plan around a central courtyard.¹²⁰ The east quarter of the palace dated from the reign of James I, complete with basement cellars, kitchens, larders and a brewhouse. It also contained the main entrance, above which was the great hall.¹²¹ James IV seems to have remodelled some of the east quarter and begun work on the other ranges. The south range housed a chapel along much of the first floor with chambers at either end, as well as a three-storey gallery along the courtyard front.¹²² The west range held the king's apartments on the first floor (hall, presence chamber and bed chamber), with a closet and oratory tucked into the north wall of the northwest tower. It is thought that the second floor may have housed a matching suite for the queen, although it would have provided poor lighting due to a lack of windows, therefore a more likely suggestion is that the queen's apartments were located on the first floor of the north quarter, running at a right angle to the king's.¹²³

As with most other royal residences, Linlithgow suffered from neglect during the reign of James VI. The keepership of the palace was granted to Captain Andrew Lambie in September 1571¹²⁴ who installed both himself and a garrison of 24 soldiers in the palace.¹²⁵ This temporary use of Linlithgow as a garrison headquarters, as well

¹¹⁸ *CSP Scot.*, xiii, no.780.

¹¹⁹ Dunbar, *Royal Palaces*, 90.

¹²⁰ As with Holyroodhouse, Stirling and Falkland, much thanks must be given to Dr Andrea Thomas for allowing me to access information from her forthcoming book on the court of James V. For a thorough history of the development of Linlithgow Palace see Dunbar, *Royal Palaces*.

¹²¹ Thomas, 'Court of James V', 104.

¹²² Thomas, 'Court of James V', 104-5.

¹²³ Thomas, 'Court of James V', 105.

¹²⁴ *RSS*, vi, 1282; appointment confirmed October 1578, *RSS*, vii, 1684.

¹²⁵ D. Pringle, *Linlithgow Palace: A Historical Guide to the Royal Palace and Peel* (Historic Scotland, 1995), 17.

as a prison,¹²⁶ likely increased the rate of deterioration quite rapidly. The keepership passed to Lord Robert Stewart in December 1580¹²⁷ who took a more active interest in palace repairs, such as hiring a new gardener in 1582 ‘because the yards, orchards and gardens had long lain waste’.¹²⁸ Around this same time the stables were expanded, a new gate to the park was constructed, and a large boat was built ‘for carting of men and horses over the loch’.¹²⁹ Several years later, in March 1590, Andrew Brown, the son of Holyroodhouse’s late north-yard gardener,¹³⁰ was appointed as gardener of Linlithgow’s gardens, orchards and yards for life.¹³¹

Sir Robert Drummond, in his oft-mentioned survey, noted that £100 would be required to repair the west quarter of the palace, which was ‘altogidder lyk to fall downe’, or £1,000 once it has fallen down.¹³² Very little or no repair work was carried out, even though parliament met in Linlithgow’s great hall in 1585.¹³³ In February 1600 it was reported of the palace that a quarter was ‘ruinous and the rest necessary to be repaired’.¹³⁴ Part of the palace did fall down. On the morning of 6 September 1607, Linlithgow’s keeper, Alexander, 1st earl of Linlithgow, reported:

the north quarter of your Majesties Palice of Linlythgw is fallin, rufe and all, within the wallis, to the ground; but the wallis ar standing yit, bot lukis everie moment when the inner wall sall fall, and brek your Majesty’s fontan.¹³⁵

As stated earlier, Linlithgow Palace was used more as a stopping-off point than an actual destination by the king and queen, with a few exceptions. James did spend some time in Linlithgow in November 1585 preparing for the sitting of parliament and hunting when time permitted.¹³⁶ In relation to the parliament which sat in the great hall that December, the English ambassador related that the king was ‘accompanied by such a number of nobility as has not been seen since James V’s

¹²⁶ Linlithgow housed the ‘insane’ earl of Arran and his mother in 1579.

¹²⁷ *RSS*, vii, 2656.

¹²⁸ Pringle, *Linlithgow Palace*, 18.

¹²⁹ E.21/63, fo.43r.

¹³⁰ Appendix 1.

¹³¹ PS.1/59, fo.103r.

¹³² *MW*, i, 311; Pringle, *Linlithgow Palace*, 18; Howard, *Scottish Architecture*, 35.

¹³³ Pringle, *Linlithgow Palace*, 18; Howard, *Scottish Architecture*, 35.

¹³⁴ *CSP Scot.*, xiii, no.496; Pringle, *Linlithgow Palace*, 18.

¹³⁵ Pringle, *Linlithgow Palace*, 19.

¹³⁶ *CSP Scot.*, viii, no.205.

days'.¹³⁷ Presumably he meant that Linlithgow Palace had not seen such a meeting of the nobility since the reign of James V.

James certainly made good use of Linlithgow, both as a resting place between destinations and a hunting location, and usually without Anna. In March 1591, James was reportedly planning 'to lie some while' at Linlithgow,¹³⁸ although in this case he reportedly wished for Anna to join him. He was in Linlithgow 'to stay at his hawking and hunting' for several days in April 1595.¹³⁹ He returned the next month as he planned to 'hunt and hawk' until travelling to Stirling in June for the wedding of Lord Glamis.¹⁴⁰

Anna made an unexpected extended stay in Linlithgow in June 1595 when she 'fell sick', apparently on her way to the king in Stirling. It would appear that Anna, who 'is so great with child', went into premature labour and suffered a stillborn delivery.¹⁴¹ It was thought that, after the king's progress through the 'west country' and visit to Perth, he and the queen would spend some time in Stirling before moving to Linlithgow 'where they will remain most part of the winter'.¹⁴² They seem to have spent most of the year, between August and December 1595 travelling between Stirling and Linlithgow, before returning to Holyroodhouse for the coldest winter months.¹⁴³ That wintering in Linlithgow was an option is surprising given the palace's poor state of repair.

Although not in the best condition, Linlithgow Palace was chosen as the home of the young Princess Elizabeth, 'to remain there for such time as shall be found convenient' under the guardianship of Livingston and his wife.¹⁴⁴ Elizabeth's younger sister, Margaret, was also entrusted to their care. At least the young princesses had frequent opportunities to see their parents. The household books clearly show the frequency, and brevity, of James's visits to Linlithgow,¹⁴⁵ most of which lasted between two to four days and some only for supper at night and dinner in the morning before continuing to his final destination. Occasionally, Livingston

¹³⁷ *CSP Scot.*, viii, no.212.

¹³⁸ *CSP Scot.*, x, nos.665, 667.

¹³⁹ *CSP Scot.*, xi, no.520.

¹⁴⁰ *CSP Scot.*, xi, no.540.

¹⁴¹ *CSP Scot.*, xi, nos.555, 560.

¹⁴² *CSP Scot.*, xi, no.636; xii, no.9.

¹⁴³ *CSP Scot.*, xii, nos.9, 30, 60, 75, 79.

¹⁴⁴ *CSP Scot.*, xii, no.313.

¹⁴⁵ Appendix 4.

hosted a dinner for the king. One such dinner ‘upon Lord Livingston’s expenses’ occurred on 12 April when James was *enroute* from Stirling to Holyroodhouse, likely accompanied by the queen’s brother, the duke of Holstein.¹⁴⁶ Anna seems not to have visited Linlithgow at any point during the duration of her accounts. The only time at which a visit was possible was in June when she moved from Holyroodhouse to Falkland. Her lack of noted visits to Linlithgow is surprising in light of the fact that two daughters resided there, one a toddler and the other a baby of only a few months.

Falkland

From the Village *King-korn*, I rode ten very long miles to *Falkeland* then the Kings House for hunting, but of old belonging to the Earles of *Fife*, where I did gladly see *James* the sixth King of the Scots, at that time lying there to follow the pastimes of hunting and hawking, for which this ground is much commended, but the Pallace was of old building and almost ready to fall, hauing nothing in it remarkeable.¹⁴⁷

One of the king’s favoured locations, primarily for hunting, was the renaissance palace at Falkland that had been so beautifully completed by James V. Like Holyroodhouse, Stirling and Linlithgow, the palace was built in a quadrangular plan. The north range, containing a great hall, was probably built by James II. It has been suggested that by 1538 it also housed ‘the inner lying chalmer on the cloce syde of the nether north lugging quhare the kingis grace lyis’ as well as the north gallery and king’s closet. The west range contained the household offices while a new stable, aviary and tennis court were built to the northeast of the palace.¹⁴⁸ The south and east ranges included a new three-storey entrance tower, similar to the one at Holyroodhouse, decorated with turrets and crenellations that ran across the roof line of the adjoining south quarter. The south range contained a chapel on the second floor as well as a gallery extension. The east range housed seven ‘reformed’ chambers and assorted household offices.¹⁴⁹

Just as happened with the other royal palaces, James VI allowed Falkland to fall into serious disrepair. Drummond painted a bleak picture of the condition of the

¹⁴⁶ Livingston hosted another dinner for the king on 17 August 1598.

¹⁴⁷ Moryson, *Itinerary*, iii, 274.

¹⁴⁸ Thomas, ‘Court of James V’, 109-10.

¹⁴⁹ Thomas, ‘Court of James V’, 110-11.

palace in May 1583.¹⁵⁰ The ‘corshows’ next to the king’s chamber was ‘standane naikit the tymmer conswmit and the sklaittis away’. The north gallery, 70 feet long and 16 feet wide, was ‘standand naikit without tymmer and sklaitt’. The south gallery, of the same size, was also decayed in timber and slate and ‘man be reformit or ellis the haill gallerie will decay and fall downe’. The stables needed ‘traiffeisis’ to stand between the horses. As a whole, the palace was in need of tables in the king’s and other chambers, as well as corresponding forms, trestles, and glass. It was thought that approximately 300 feet of glass was needed as well as 20 glass bands for the windows and a dozen ‘greit windois’ some of which were 12 and 14 feet in height and from six to eight feet in width. The existing works accounts shed no light on whether or not any of these problems were immediately addressed. The king’s slater was paid £440 in April 1585 for timber, slate and workmanship in repairing the palace,¹⁵¹ although what these repairs were, precisely, is not mentioned. Further repairs were carried out in July 1596, for which Shaw was paid £666 13s 4d.¹⁵² Even after repairs, if Moryson’s description was accurate, Falkland was old, unremarkable, and about to topple.

Regardless of the poor condition of the palace, James made extensive use of it for his hunting excursions. In April 1586, he escorted ‘his bucks’ to Falkland where they were fed with bran, oats and hay before being released into the park to join the other deer.¹⁵³ Plans were made to hunt in Falkland in August 1593, although the king remained in Edinburgh three extra days to entertain the departing Danish ambassadors.¹⁵⁴ He spent much of that autumn hunting in, and around, Falkland.¹⁵⁵ The summer of 1595 was to be spent by both king and queen dividing their time between Stirling and Falkland.¹⁵⁶ The king, at least, returned to Falkland the following summer ‘to remain some time’.¹⁵⁷

Unfortunately, the Danish commissioners were not as impressed with Falkland as James was, proclaiming it of low value and in some decay.¹⁵⁸ James did attempt to

¹⁵⁰ *MW*, i, 313.

¹⁵¹ E.22/6, fo.253r.

¹⁵² E.21/71, fo.59v. The nature of these repairs was not specified.

¹⁵³ *CSP Scot.*, viii, nos.373, 376.

¹⁵⁴ *CSP Scot.*, xi, no.1593.

¹⁵⁵ *CSP Scot.*, xi, nos.113, 130.

¹⁵⁶ *CSP Scot.*, xi, nos.512, 514, 540, 573, 594, 599, 622, 635, 636; xii, no.21.

¹⁵⁷ *CSP Scot.*, xiii, no.228.

¹⁵⁸ *CSP Scot.*, x, no.403.

prepare the palace for the queen, just as he had done with Dunfermline.¹⁵⁹ If this made a difference to the queen's impressions of the palace is impossible to judge. She certainly stayed at the palace with the king on numerous occasions. Whatever the condition of Falkland, it apparently was superior to Dunfermline. In July 1594, Anna, preparing to meet some of the ambassadors visiting for Henry's baptism, chose to greet them at Falkland rather than Dunfermline 'lest they should see her at the Abbey where she lay not like a princess of such birth and virtues'.¹⁶⁰

Falkland was the site of several stressful experiences for the king. It was from Falkland that he rode to St Andrews, with the aide of Colonel William Stewart, to escape the control of the Ruthven raiders. It was also at Falkland that Bothwell made one of his many attempts to gain an audience with the king. Before midnight of 27 June 1592 Bothwell, several of his supporters and 300 horsemen from the Borders surrounded the house until nearly seven in the morning, although neither the king nor his retainers were injured.¹⁶¹ On 6 August 1600, while the king was hunting in Falkland park, the earl of Gowrie's brother, Alexander Ruthven, approached him and started the chain of events that would lead to both Alexander's and his brother's deaths. After the king's trauma at Gowrie House, it was to Falkland that he returned, where he 'caused to be thrust out of the house' two of Gowrie's sisters, both of whom were in favour with the queen, and proclaimed that all those by the name of Ruthven were to keep a distance of 10 miles from him, on pain of death.¹⁶²

Royal household books show frequent use by the king, queen and court of Falkland.¹⁶³ Although used primarily as a hunting retreat, it was also a convenient resting place for any travels to the north, such as Dundee. The most active use of the palace, during the space of the accounts, was in July 1598. The king visited Falkland between 11 and 20 July, returned to Holyroodhouse for several days, and was back at Falkland on 24 July, most likely to prepare for the convention that was held there between 8 and 10 August. The queen was not with James for this convention, preferring to remain with her court at Dalkeith. Anna did arrive in Falkland sometime prior to 21 June 1599, in plenty of time for the convention in late-July of that year,

¹⁵⁹ *CSP Scot.*, x, no.440.

¹⁶⁰ *CSP Scot.*, xi, no.290.

¹⁶¹ *CSP Scot.*, x, no.707; Macpherson, '5th Earl Bothwell', 396.

¹⁶² *CSP Scot.*, xiii, nos.535, 537.

¹⁶³ Appendix 4.

and remained there until 23 August. The king was also in residence, and possibly had been since April.¹⁶⁴ It was also to Falkland that the king made a sudden, and very brief, visit in September 1598, while the queen and court remained at Dalkeith.

Household Furnishings

Royal residences were divided up into several components, namely the royal apartments, the hall, the chapel, the kitchens, the stables and the household offices. A thoroughly informative study of the locations and uses of these various components, in the period up to 1542, has been done and therefore will not be discussed in great length below.¹⁶⁵ Rather, to show how James and his court lived, a brief description of the areas and how they were decorated during his reign will be mentioned.

The royal apartments, although not as important in a public ceremonial sense as the hall, were a major focus of court life. As one progressed through the suite, usually a group of three rooms, access became more strictly limited: 'the rooms were always placed in diminishing order of size and increasing order of intimacy'.¹⁶⁶ The outer rooms would have been used primarily for business and entertainment, and perhaps also dining, while access to the inner rooms was tightly controlled, serving as a retreat for the king. It has been noted that although elaborate beds may have been located within the inner chambers, that was not necessarily where the king or queen slept. A further suggestion has been made that these were of a symbolic and ceremonial nature, rather than useful, with the king and queen likely sleeping in smaller, less elaborate beds within their closets or other inner rooms of the chamber.¹⁶⁷ The most private room in the royal suite was the closet. It was a private, all-purpose room, from a location in which to conduct matters of business to the setting for personal hygiene. It was in the closet that the king bathed and used his stool of ease or latrine. James's 'stule of ease' was noted in September 1590: it contained two brass pans, was covered in green stemming, Holland cloth and linen, and cost nearly £18.¹⁶⁸

¹⁶⁴ *CSP Scot.*, xiii, no.356.

¹⁶⁵ For more information see Dunbar, *Royal Palaces*, especially chapters 4, 5 and 6.

¹⁶⁶ Dunbar, *Royal Palaces*, 153.

¹⁶⁷ Dunbar, *Royal Palaces*, 134-5.

¹⁶⁸ *Papers Relative to Marriage*, appendix ii: 19; Dunbar, *Royal Palaces*, 136.

The hall was the largest room of the palace or castle, and served as the public and ceremonial focal point of the court during larger gatherings. It was also within the hall that most household retainers received their meals, although the king probably dined in his own chambers and lower kitchen and stable servants probably ate where they worked. The importance of the hall as the centre of the court was gradually replaced by the more intimate settings of the chamber. It is thought that at some occasions higher officials dined in the outer chambers of the king's and queen's apartments.¹⁶⁹ Although accounts made it very clear as to who ate with whom, and on what, it was not so clear where the dining took place. However, it does seem possible that the king ate in the company of a number of his servitors, as their meals are specified as having occurred either before, during, or after the king's repast.¹⁷⁰ As the household dining lists are not comprehensive, it could be suggested that the king dined, with those noted, in his outer chamber on food from his kitchens, while the lower servitors, who did not rank high enough to be included, dined in the hall, kitchens or stables, with food provided by the court kitchen. Unfortunately, with the exception of banquets, which undoubtedly occurred in the great hall, the exact location where the king or his retainers dined was never specified.

The great hall at Stirling Castle is a prime example of the importance of the hall. Not only was it the focus for all major occasions but also that focus was emphasised by its location within a freestanding building built solely for that purpose. Although not freestanding, the great hall at Linlithgow Palace runs almost the entire east range. The halls were grandly appointed, normally with a large fireplace at one end (several fireplaces in the case of Stirling) and frequently with a musicians' gallery built into an upper level, usually at the service end. A dais of some sort was usually built at one end, on which a high table would be set, providing a view over the entire hall.¹⁷¹ The silver vessel house, the court vessel house, the court cup house and the napery are thought to have been located nearby, possibly in cellars below, as they contained the items most frequently used within the hall.¹⁷²

¹⁶⁹ Dunbar, *Royal Palaces*, 108-10.

¹⁷⁰ Appendix 3.

¹⁷¹ C. Tabraham, *Scottish Castles and Fortifications*, (Edinburgh, 1986), 10-11; Dunbar, *Royal Palaces*, 108-15.

¹⁷² Dunbar, *Royal Palaces*, 116-18.

Chapels within the royal residences were served by the king's or queen's ministers who travelled with the royal entourage. In the case of Holyroodhouse, it was even the minister's responsibility to make necessary repairs to the chapel, although the treasury reimbursed him. The frequency with which the chapels were used in the various residences is impossible to determine. Stirling's chapel royal was utilised for major events such as Prince Henry's baptism, just as the old chapel royal had been used for James's own baptism. Holyroodhouse, with its adjoining abbey kirk, saw more use of the abbey for major occasions, such as Anna's coronation, than did the private chapel located on the south side of the palace block.¹⁷³ Such could have been the case for Dunfermline as it too had an adjoining abbey kirk. Most of the chapels were similar in their oblong plan and in size, Stirling's chapel royal being on the large side, a vestibule and loft on the west end, and a vestry at the east end.¹⁷⁴ Chapel ceilings were usually of wood, often decorated with painting or pendants, floors were paved or tiled, and windows contained a mixture of plain and coloured glass.¹⁷⁵ From his mother's collections James inherited a number of ecclesiastical coverings which included 'ane coverteur of ane altar of cleith of gold champit with grene velvat', 'ane foir frantell of ane altar of blew dames', 'ane selle of blew purpour welvat to be careit on corpus christeis day with four pandats and with brouderie of cleith of gold velvout the borderis of the same'.¹⁷⁶ Other chapel furnishings during James VI's reign included a new bell in 1591, at a cost of £66 13s 4d,¹⁷⁷ two 'kirk cuschingis' in 1600,¹⁷⁸ and £336 to the embroiderer for purple velvet to be made into a kirk cloth and the coverings of a chair with a cushion.¹⁷⁹

The kitchens were very basic rooms, usually dominated by a massive fireplace and contained several large wooden tables, or boards, at which the food was prepared. The pantry and wine cellar were frequently adjacent to the kitchen, for ease in preparing and serving all portions of the meal, and storerooms holding other food

¹⁷³ Dunbar, *Royal Palaces*, 123. Dunbar gives several examples of the use of the abbey church, rather than the palace chapel, by earlier Scottish monarchs. Contemporary accounts for James VI do not always specify whether occasions occurred in the abbey chapel or the palace chapel, although the latter was the location of the marriage of the earl of Mar and Marie Stewart.

¹⁷⁴ Dunbar, *Royal Palaces*, 125.

¹⁷⁵ Dunbar, *Royal Palaces*, 128-9.

¹⁷⁶ E.35/10.

¹⁷⁷ E.21/68, fo.108v.

¹⁷⁸ E.21/74, fo.86r.

¹⁷⁹ E.21/76, fo.241r.

items would have been nearby. Because of a Scottish diet heavily reliant upon bread and ale, an ale cellar (or brewhouse) and bakery were located near the kitchens as well.¹⁸⁰ There were two kitchens, one to prepare the king's food, and that of those who ate with him, and one for the court, or the rest of the household. Although the queen had her own cellars, kitchen and bakers, there does not appear to be a third division for the court, with the exception of a court laundress.¹⁸¹ Both the king's and court kitchens would have contained an adjacent dressory where food was garnished before transported to the hall or chamber.¹⁸² The kitchens were subject to the most use and thus tended to be the locations most in need of repairs, as was noted above in the case of Holyroodhouse.

Senior members of the household were often allocated quarters of their own while lower household servitors found themselves sleeping in their place of work. Entries in the master of works' accounts and treasurer's accounts for repairs to the chambers of various servitors give the clearest indication of who retained the rooms, and in some cases their location. In many cases, retainers wished for slightly more privacy and purchased their own homes near the court. During James VI's minority several of his domestics owned homes in Stirling, and purchased residences in Edinburgh or the Canongate, usually the latter due to its closer proximity to the court, upon the king's move to the capital. The master of the wine cellar (Jerome Bowie) and his wife, the king's laundress (Margaret Douchall), lived in the Canongate, as did the king's baker (Patrick Rannald), a gentleman in the king's privy chamber (Robert Erskine), the master cook (William Lamb), the master porter (John Boag), the queen's secretary (William Fowler), one of the king's ministers (Patrick Galloway), and the master of the pantry (Frances Galbraith).¹⁸³ Edinburgh could also claim many of the royal servitors: John Fenton (clerk register), David McGill (king's advocate), Henry White (king's cordiner), Gilbert Moncrieff (mediciner), John Maitland of Thirlestane

¹⁸⁰ Appendix 3 gives food suggestions and amounts for the various household tables. Appendix 4 lists some of the food items used in the kitchens, particularly those used for preparation of special banquets. For more information on Scottish food types and usage see A.J.S. Gibson and T.C. Smout, 'Food and Hierarchy in Scotland, 1550-1650' in L. Leneman (ed.), *Perspectives in Scottish Social History: essays in honour of Rosalind Mitchison* (Aberdeen, 1988), 33-52; and also A.J.S. Gibson and T.C. Smout, *Prices, food and wages in Scotland 1550-1780* (Cambridge, 1995).

¹⁸¹ Appendix 1.

¹⁸² Dunbar, *Royal Palaces*, 186-7.

¹⁸³ B.22/22/26, fos.9v, 104v; B.22/22/27, fos.10r, 64r, 165r; B.22/22/28, p18, 112, 154.

(chancellor) and John Gibb (valet in the king's chamber).¹⁸⁴ As noted previously, James made an extraordinary gift of £2,000 to his almoner and former tutor, Peter Young, so that Young could buy a piece of land and build a house for himself and his family.¹⁸⁵

Scottish courtiers tended to retain townhouses within Edinburgh and the Canongate, through leasing or buying, rather than rely upon court-appointed lodgings. This gave them more independence and provided a respite from the constant scrutiny inherent at court. A number of courtiers, such as the king's Stewart relations and his childhood Erskine acquaintances, were provided with permanent chambers within Holyroodhouse, to allow for nearly constant attendance upon the king. The great chamberlain, royal favourites and a page usually were given the additional 'honour' of sleeping either in bed with, or on a pallet placed at the foot of, the king.

As stated above, the stables were an integral part of the royal household. Headed by the master of the stable and assisted by an esquire, or clerk of the stables, it contained a number of grooms, pages and lackeys, a master of the avery, a saddler, lorimer, and a farrier. The stables were responsible for the king's hunting establishment, caring for his horses and sometimes providing horses to household officials or for various transportation needs (although frequent payments occur to various domestics who found it necessary to hire mounts to fulfil their obligations). As for the hunting establishment, it included a master falconer and assistants, a master hunter and assistants, and keepers of the king's hunting dogs.¹⁸⁶

It is interesting to note that James VI's household organisation seems to have been on a slightly more functional, and less elaborate, level than that of his grandfather and great-grandfather. As far as the accounts show, James possessed the minimum amount of offices necessary to function at court. In other words, there were separate kitchens for king and court (as well as for the queen and Prince Henry)¹⁸⁷ but most other offices served everybody. Unlike James V's establishment, there was no distinction between a king's bakehouse and a general bakehouse, a king's breadhouse and a court pantry, or a king's ale-cellar and a general ale-cellar.¹⁸⁸ James VI seemed

¹⁸⁴ B.22/1/30, fos.77v, 81r; B.22/1/31, fo.118r; B.22/1/32, fos.3r, 54r; B.22/1/37, 102r.

¹⁸⁵ E.21/61, fo.42v.

¹⁸⁶ Appendix 1.

¹⁸⁷ Appendix 1.

¹⁸⁸ Dunbar, *Royal Palaces*, 187.

desperate to emulate his grandfather, thus if his establishment was smaller it was due in no small part to a lack of financial resources rather than any preference for fewer servitors.

Vivid descriptions of the interiors of James V's Palace of Holyroodhouse are provided through the recent research of Andrea Thomas. The king's chambers were located on the first floor of the new tower, consisting of an outer chamber on the east and an inner chamber on the west, with two stairways, turnpike and straight, leading to the queen's matching rooms on the floor above. This tower, which still stands, was fitted with wooden floors, ceilings and wall panels, the frames of the doors and windows were painted red, and the primary windows were of painted or stained glass. Ceilings in the forework chambers and chapel were decorated with coloured and gilded hanging knobs, mouldings were painted azure, and ironwork on the windows was painted. The chapel interior contained oak stalls and turned wooden decorations above the high altar. She suggests that to the south of the palace block were sited the office houses: wardrobes, stables, avery, *tapisier's* house, kitchens, bakehouse, vessel house, brewhouse, napery house, larders, spice house, glazier's house, king's mediciner, and sangsters.¹⁸⁹

The other royal palaces would have been similarly decorated, primarily with wood ceilings, wood panelling on the walls, and floors of either wood, stone or tile. The Stirling Heads that covered the ceiling in the king's outer chamber in the Stirling palace block provide an image of the elaborate decorations that did exist. Brightly painted wood and stonework along with various hanging tapestries contributed to a much more colourful environment than we would imagine today. The use of hangings of cloth of gold and cloth of silver would have done much to brighten any royal room.

With the exception of items that were newly made or purchased for the household, and thus described in accounts, an image of the interior of a royal residence must rely heavily upon the courts of the king's ancestors and the furnishings that they procured. Therefore the work of historians, such as Dr Dunbar and Dr Thomas, on the reigns of James IV and V is extremely important. The reason for this is that tapestries, wall hangings and carpets tended to be very expensive and of great

¹⁸⁹ Thomas, 'Court of James V', 101-02.

value. It is for this reason that the king kept a tapestry keeper, *tapisier*, on staff. The *tapisier* was responsible not only for repair of the existing tapestries and their removal from location to location, but occasionally the creation of new tapestries. As such, it was not surprising that James VI's first *tapisier* was also his master embroiderer.¹⁹⁰

Both James's grandfather and great-grandfather had significantly added to the tapestry collection for Scotland's royal residences, most of which would have originated in the great tapestry production towns in northern France and Flanders. James IV, in preparation for his wedding to Margaret Tudor, had purchased 'in bulk' from Flanders, while James V made several similar purchases as well as employing two French *tapisiers*, a Scottish tapestry maker and an embroiderer to work on the hangings.¹⁹¹ James V's tapestry inventories included several depicting classical myths and legends, stories from the Bible, and themes from medieval romances, with styles ranging from late-gothic *mille-fleurs* tradition to the fashionable antique designs of the 1530s. Of these items fewer than 200 pieces were listed, which included other assorted wall hangings, altar cloths, canopies, curtains and cover for beds, cushions, rugs, chair covers and a Turkey carpet.¹⁹²

The royal furnishings apparently suffered from a lack of care during Mary, queen of Scot's minority. Although a number of James IV and James V's tapestries may have deteriorated, Mary of Guise brought a new collection of items into the royal household. These, many made of satin and velvet, included tapestries, cushions, table linens and enough canopies and hangings for 20 beds. She also brought two professional French embroiderers and three upholsterers.¹⁹³ In August 1581 James's keeper of the tapestries installed 'wall plaittis' at Holyroodhouse to hang the tapestry in the king's hall.¹⁹⁴ Four years later, 'puldanie canves' was acquired for carrying and transporting tapestries that had been repaired.¹⁹⁵ Further expenses were incurred by the king's *tapisier* for hanging and 'upfitting' of the king's tapestry at the time of the visit by the Danish ambassadors in 1586.¹⁹⁶

¹⁹⁰ Appendix 1.

¹⁹¹ Thomas, 'Court of James V', 120-21.

¹⁹² Thomas, 'Court of James V', 121-2.

¹⁹³ D.J. Breeze, *A Queen's Progress* (HMSO, 1987), 35.

¹⁹⁴ E.21/62, fo.148r.

¹⁹⁵ E.21/64, fo.80r.

¹⁹⁶ E.21/64, fo.121v.

Although some large, bulky items remained in specific chambers in some residences, many other household items, such as tapestries, cushions, tablecloths, bed hangings, bed linens, silver and tin vessels, and of course, the wardrobe moved with the king and queen to whichever location they were visiting. Most of the items were stored into wooden chests that were then transported from location to location in wagons.¹⁹⁷ This would not have occurred at every move the king or queen made but rather those for any duration of time, such as a summer spent at Falkland Palace. The king, when on hunting excursions, would have travelled with the minimum requirements for his comfort. This was in part due to reliance upon his noble hosts to provide for his comfort.

James VI's contributions to the royal decor appear relatively minor. The royal painters were kept reasonably busy with portraits, although these were undoubtedly given to favoured courtiers or sent with delegations to find the king a wife. In September 1580, Arnold Bronckhurst received £130 13s 4d for 'certain portraits maid by him to the king', although half of this fee was in gratitude for coming to Scotland.¹⁹⁸ Larger items built for James included a billiard board, a walnut 'stand bed' and a table of clapboard at which he could eat.¹⁹⁹

Other household items included two dozen silver spoons (the knives and forks received 'dichting and grinding'), three dozen silver plates, a hanging brass chandelier worth £24 for the queen's outer chamber at Holyroodhouse, eight silver chandeliers for the king's house at a cost of £749, a £20 silver water pot for the king, three pair of cloth of gold curtains fringed in gold, a crimson velvet counter cloth fringed in silver, and a number of velvet chairs with cushions for the king.²⁰⁰ Some items were created out of older ones, as with the case of two old silver chandeliers and a silver pan which were melted and used to make two new chandeliers and a silver spoon for the prince.²⁰¹ The pantry received a number of items in April 1602 including a four-squared trencher [i.e. platter] and a 'cadana' trencher newly made, gilded and worth

¹⁹⁷ Dunbar, *Royal Palaces*, 176; Tabraham, *Scottish Castles*, 15.

¹⁹⁸ E.21/61, fo.43r.

¹⁹⁹ E.21/62, fos.114v, 125v.

²⁰⁰ E.21/63, fo.57r; E.21/68, fo.98v; E.21/73, fo.76v; E.21/76, fos.121v, 133r-v, 219v; E.21/74, fos.86r, 136r.

²⁰¹ E.21/76, fo.233r.

£86. At the same time, the wine cellar acquired a £72 silver stop for the queen's use and a new gilded cup with cover.²⁰²

The largest single payment was £1,015 in April 1602 for purple, tawny, 'sad gray', blue and black velvet to be made into five counter cloths, five chairs and five cushions.²⁰³ Although the type of merchandise is not clear, it can be assumed that at least some of the items furnished by Archibald Johnston, merchant burgess of Edinburgh, to the king in 1602 for a cost of £9,118 16s 2d included items of furniture or household decor.²⁰⁴ Another merchant who provided goods for the royal household was Baptist Hicks, a prominent London merchant and financier, who received payment of £1,240 in January 1603.²⁰⁵

As can be seen, although James did not add a large amount to the royal furnishings he did make some effort. Unidentified purchases from London, through people such as James Hudson or George Heriot, younger, could quite easily have included items of furniture, carpets or tapestries but are not known because the accounts no longer exist. However, the reduced state of Scotland's royal coffers and the lack of major building projects suggest that James treated his household furnishings as he did his residences; he repaired them when necessary but rarely augmented them, making do with what he had.

In addition to the arrangement and furnishings of the royal residences, each contained formal gardens. As with the layout of the palaces, the gardens during James VI's reign were similar to the gardens of James V. During the latter's reign, the gardens at Falkland, Holyrood and Stirling contained archery butts for sport and entertainment, and lists were erected for jousting matches held at the later two palaces. Royal gardens would have contained turf banks as well as stone walls, stone benches for resting during a stroll, flower beds (knots), and pools (stanks) that would likely have been stocked with fish for future meals.²⁰⁶ The gardens and surrounding parks would also have been stocked with wildlife to provide meat to the king's table. As has already been noted, Falkland's park was well stocked with deer while

²⁰² E.21/76, fos.133r-v.

²⁰³ E.21/76, fo.122r.

²⁰⁴ E.21/76, fo.179r.

²⁰⁵ E.21/76, fo.226r. Thanks to Julian Goodare for pointing out that 'Mr Heckes' from the account was Baptist Hicks, the brother of Burghley's former secretary Michael Hicks. Furthermore, Hicks had made loans to help finance Prince Henry's baptism.

²⁰⁶ Thomas, 'Court of James V', 101-02, 122.

Holyrood Park contained deer, hares and rabbits. Repairs totalling £100 were ordered in 1586 on the king's yards in Falkland to 'big and repair the yettis entressis stankis and dyikis'.²⁰⁷ Holyroodhouse, according to a drawing by Gordon of Rothiemay in 1647 had formal gardens to the north and the south of the palace. An earlier English spy sketch from 1544 showed the northern gardens.²⁰⁸ All of the palaces had tennis courts, or 'catchpullis'. James VI employed two keepers of the king's catchpullis, although a separate person was hired as keeper of the catchpullis at Linlithgow.²⁰⁹

Clothing & Jewellery

Jewellery was of primary importance in a Renaissance European court. It provided lavish decoration, usually to already well-enhanced clothing, it acted as a conspicuous display of wealth, and it could be given so easily as gifts, of any size and value. James, indeed, had a habit of gifting Anna with a new jewel each time she delivered another child. Prior to Robert's baptism, for example, Anna received a pointed diamond worth £266 13s 4d,²¹⁰ although the form in which this diamond arrived was not specified. James had even given a jewel worth 100 crowns to Sir George Home of Spot's wife at the delivery of her son in October 1600.²¹¹

During James's minority very little was done in regards to jewellery. Seemingly many of the jewels inherited from his mother were either sold or never recovered from those into whose keeping they were placed. In late-August 1568, the following jewels were delivered to Treasurer Richardson, and apparently sold to provide extra funding: 10 diamonds, a tablet set with a ruby, emerald and hanging pearl, a bag of 'peudir' with a great ruby hanging loose, and a great ruby with a great pearl hanging from it.²¹² Several months later, Regent Moray removed from the royal coffers a long ruby hanging lose in a hanger of gold, a long great ruby set in a 'scholl' of gold, a carcanet of enamelled gold, a fair emerald with a diamond at the end of it,

²⁰⁷ E.21/65, fo.77v.

²⁰⁸ Breeze, *Queen's Progress*, 35.

²⁰⁹ Appendix 1.

²¹⁰ E.21/ 76, fo.141r.

²¹¹ E.21/74, fo.69r.

²¹² E.35/9/1.

and a four ‘mukid’ ruby set in gold with a pearl at the end. In May he removed 10 diamonds, nine rubies, and a bag of pearls with a diamond and an emerald.²¹³

Many of the jewels in the collection of Mary, queen of Scots were taken to London to be sold, such as a pearls, bought by Queen Elizabeth, which had been given to Mary by her mother-in-law, Catherine de Medici.²¹⁴ Other jewels, such as 19 diamonds and two other stones in a hanger, were given an estimated value of 2,400 crowns but returned to Scotland, with only Mary’s pearls being sold. In addition to those stones, Treasurer Richardson held a cross of diamonds and other jewels which had been held as security, as had several garnishings of gold worth £1,000.²¹⁵ An inventory of the royal jewels in Edinburgh Castle on 28 August 1571 included a chain of rubies with 12 marks of diamonds and rubies and one mark with two rubies, a pair of paternosters of three ranks of pearls, a pair of diamond and ruby-set gold bracelets, a gold carcanet containing two diamonds, three rubies and 76 pearls, a gold garter set with seven diamonds, six rubies and 12 pearls, and a chain of pearls with two ranks of pearls and 25 marks of little diamonds and small rubies set in gold with 10 pearls between every two marks.²¹⁶ Following the Reformation, items such as paternosters were rarely found in royal jewellery collections and it is doubtful that Mary’s paternosters were ever used. Most likely, they were broken up with other pearls and stones and made into newer items.

As for the king himself, he wore very little jewellery at this early stage. In July 1573, the following items of gold work were sent to the countess of Mar for the ‘ornament of the kingis grace persoun’: three dozen buttons enamelled in white and red, three dozen buttons enamelled in white and black, 61 pairs of pearled and enamelled ‘lang hornes’, 23 pairs of white-enamelled ‘gritt hornes’, 65 pairs of pointed ‘lang hornes’, six dozen white-enamelled little horns, and 113 pairs of horns with raised gold work.²¹⁷ Five years later, goldsmith Mungo Brady made silver buckles for the king’s gilded boots.²¹⁸ There were no rings, no elaborate hat pins and no sword-belts sent to decorate the king’s person although it was usual for children to be dressed up as miniature adults in this period. The young king’s sole

²¹³ E.35/9/2.

²¹⁴ E.35/9/3; D. Scarisbrick, *Tudor and Jacobean Jewellery* (London, 1995), 17.

²¹⁵ E.35/9/3.

²¹⁶ E.35/9/4.

²¹⁷ E.35/12.

²¹⁸ *TA*, xiii, 191.

ornamentations, primarily enamelled buttons of gold or horn, can be attributed to his austere Calvinist upbringing and a desire by the Scottish councillors to avoid ostentation.

Although he may not have worn many jewels himself, at this early stage, James was more than happy to present gifts of jewels. Public displays of gift-giving by the king were a sign of his love, affection and esteem, as was the case in June 1581 when James, before witnesses, gave his cousin, the earl of Lennox, ‘ane cheinye of gold contening xxv knottis of perll with twenty fyve buttownes of gold and fiftie dyamantis sett thairin’.²¹⁹

New Year’s gifts were a constant source of work for the goldsmiths. In January 1580, Brady provided the king with 25 gold rings,²²⁰ likely as gifts, although it was not noted. Over the next two years at New Year, rings and other items were furnished by goldsmith Michael Gilbert.²²¹ In December 1582, expenditure on New Year’s gifts, provided by Thomas Foulis, nearly doubled the previous amounts and included tablets, rings and bracelets set with diamonds, rubies and other precious stones.²²² New Year’s gifts of 1584, £785 8s were provided by Foulis, while the following year’s gifts, worth £1,120 10s went to Gilbert.²²³ This balancing of New Year’s gifts continued with Foulis providing the increasingly valuable work, £1,377, in 1586.²²⁴ Foulis, again, furnished the gifts in 1587, for a sum of £1,466 5s, which James could not pay, forcing the king to pledge a great tabled diamond.²²⁵ Some conflict with Gilbert must have occurred as a result, thus explaining why Foulis and Gilbert were found dividing the year’s work in 1588 and 1589.²²⁶

James did not only acquire goldsmith work to give as New Year’s gifts, some he gave for other occasions, such as Lennox’s gift mentioned above, and some work was provided for his own use. In August 1584, Gilbert was to have received £730 for unspecified work, which had been furnished before Treasurer Gowrie’s incarceration

²¹⁹ B.P. Lenman, ‘Jacobean Goldsmith-Jewellers as Credit-Creators: The Cases of James Mossman, James Cockie and George Heriot’, *SHR*, LXXIV (1955), 168.

²²⁰ *TA*, xiii, 304.

²²¹ £330 in February 1581: E.21/62, fo.113v; and £345 12s in January 1582: E.21/62, fo.170r.

²²² £763 15s: E.21/63, fo.102r.

²²³ E.22/6, fos.144r, 230r.

²²⁴ E.21/64, fo.115r.

²²⁵ E.21/67, fo.210r.

²²⁶ £1,965 12s shared by Gilbert and Foulis in 1588: E.21/66, fo.106v; and £5,131 13s 4d shared by the two in 1589: E.21/67, fo.124v.

and beheading,²²⁷ but an identical payment appeared again in March 1596, after Gilbert's death, with a notice that it remained from Gowrie's accounts.²²⁸ In January 1585, George Heriot delivered to the king, in the presence of the countess of Arran, a ring with a tablet and three rose rings set with diamonds and rubies worth 120 crowns which were to be given as a present to the countess of Crawford at her son's baptism.²²⁹

The focus on goldsmiths and jewellers shifted dramatically upon the king's marriage in 1589. Not only did the king have a wife to whom to present jewels but also he had a wife who made her own purchases and followed her own sense of fashion. It has been claimed that Anna was 'in some respects every jeweller's dream customer' as she both loved jewellery and was a compulsive spender.²³⁰

One of Anna's favoured goldsmiths was Edinburgh merchant George Heriot, younger. Heriot, whose father was also a goldsmith, appeared in accounts as one of the king's goldsmiths in 1599 and was appointed the queen's goldsmith in July 1597.²³¹ Prince Henry's household, too, looked to Heriot when in need of decorative items; its first commission for Heriot was for a hat string worth 40 crowns in April 1598.²³² After the move to England, Heriot increased his work for the young prince, delivering jewels valued at £1,061 10s 10d (sterling) between 1 November 1610 and 11 December 1611. He made two additional deliveries of jewels before Henry's death, receiving £1,247 10s (sterling) and £1,117 12s 9d (sterling).²³³ Once in England, in addition to commissions from Henry, James and Anna continued to use Heriot's services. Prince Charles, when he came of age, also used Heriot, as did a number of influential courtiers, all of which served to increase Heriot's finances greatly, and allowed his estate to fund the school that bears his name in Edinburgh.²³⁴ James's interest in jewellery, especially after his arrival in England (and England's

²²⁷ E.22/6, fo.199v.

²²⁸ E.21/70, fo.200r.

²²⁹ E.22/6, fo.230r. It is not clear whether this was Heriot, elder, or Heriot, younger, as both were active goldsmiths. Although, at this early date, it was more likely to be George Heriot, elder.

²³⁰ Lenman, 'Goldsmith-Jewellers', 167.

²³¹ Appendix 1; PS.1/69, fo.132r.

²³² Wilks, 'Court Culture', 115.

²³³ Wilks, 'Court Culture', 115.

²³⁴ Richard Rodger of the University of Leicester has recently done research into the development of Edinburgh in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and the importance of land purchases and sales made by the trustees of George Heriot's Hospital, as well as the Trust's near incestuous relationship with the Edinburgh town council.

larger coffers) was alluded to in his statement to parliament in 1605: 'Kings were God's vice-gerents on earth and so adorned and furnished with some sparks of Divinitie'.²³⁵ Diamonds and other jewels were seemingly the 'sparks of divinitie', and conspicuous consumption of jewellery was suddenly a politically desirable action.

In Scotland, however, most of Heriot's work was for the queen. Anna was one of Heriot's primary patrons and her debts to him were a constant source of trouble to James. In order to better understand these jewellery debts, a number of the queen's more expensive items are noted, as is her ever-increasing bill. Throughout the reign in Scotland, French crowns were the chosen currency when dealing with jewellery, although the accounts begin to mention the equivalent Scots pounds price later on. Due to the ever-fluctuating and frequently devalued Scottish currency, it is not surprising that something with more stability was used in accounting.²³⁶ Interestingly, accounting in pounds sterling was immediately accepted upon the move to England.

The gems that were used in the jewellery came from a variety of foreign places. Many diamonds originated in India, rubies came from Burma, turquoises were found in Persia, and sapphires and garnets were mined in Ceylon. The most highly prized pearls were oriental rather than the homegrown river variety, although the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean around Sri Lanka also produced a large quantity. Gold and silver were mined in Europe although newly discovered mines in the New World yielded even greater amounts, as well as emeralds and topazes.²³⁷

Several recurring themes of items can be seen throughout the accounts. One of these is the interest in cipher jewels. These included jewels in the form of an 'A' (for Anna), 'S' (for her mother, Sophie of Mecklenburg), and 'C4' (for her brother, Christian IV of Denmark), although the latter does not appear in the Scottish accounts. Several portrait jewels also appeared, either in the form of a portrait engraved upon a stone (such as a cameo) or a small painted portrait set within a gold brooch or pendant and encircled by various gems, most with some form of decorative hinged cover over the portrait. Anna disliked mythological and story-telling jewels, preferring themes of naturalism such as flowers and butterflies, or the above-

²³⁵ D. Scarisbrick, *Jewellery in Britain 1066-1837* (Wilby, Norwich, 1994), 69-70.

²³⁶ The exchange rate of Scots pounds to French crowns during this period fluctuated considerably. The best means of figuring the rate as the years progressed is to use the account totals for each year, helpfully noted in both crowns and pounds by Heriot. For more information see T. Riis, *Should Auld Acquaintance Be Forgot: Scottish-Danish Relations c.1450-1707* (Odense, 1988).

²³⁷ Scarisbrick, *Jewellery in Britain*, 79-80.

mentioned ciphers or miniatures that proclaimed her family associations.²³⁸ As for pearls, Anna preferred them to be all white and high on the neck in chokers and necklaces, possibly fringed with diamond drops.²³⁹ The accounts also mention several ‘hingers’. Although some items are clearly stated as ‘hingeris for lugis’ (earrings) others are not so clearly described. It is likely that a number were indeed earrings while some of the more expensive ‘hingers’, especially those designated for the use of the king or princes, or as ‘hingers for swords’, were actually sword-belts. Other popular items of the period were tablets: doubled-sided jewels with a hinged cover that opened to reveal its contents, usually a miniature such as those described above, that were hung at the neck or breast. These were often in a simple geometric shape although some were in the shape of a heart.²⁴⁰

Heriot’s accounts of items delivered to the queen in May 1593 amounted to 493 crowns and included two ‘hingeris for lugis’ set with seven dozen rubies, two large rings, each set with a ruby and four diamonds, and the queen’s cipher set with 28 diamonds and 16 rubies. Just three months later, she ran up an account of 339 crowns, including a ring ‘to your majesties lug’ set with seven diamonds.²⁴¹ With the addition of other luxury items Anna owed Heriot a grand total of 1,806 crowns towards the end of the year. As partial payment Anna delivered to Heriot a ‘carrat of gold and ane tablet baith set with dyamontis and rubeis’, worth 1,000 crowns, with full power to him to use and dispense with them to his own use and profit.²⁴² To cover the remaining debt, Anna commanded her chamberlain, William Schaw, to make payment to Heriot out of the profits of the lordship of Dunfermline.²⁴³

Anna was indebted to Heriot again in the winter of 1596, for 344 crowns,²⁴⁴ for items including an earring with nine diamonds and a carcanet set with rubies, diamonds and pearls. As she was unable to pay the entire sum she pledged a jewel with a portrait of Saint George, containing 16 diamonds, 24 rubies and an emerald.²⁴⁵ The queen’s jewellery account covering 23 December 1595 to 24 June 1596 was again impressive. Items included a jewel in the form of an anchor containing 16

²³⁸ Scarisbrick, *Tudor and Jacobean*, 68; Scarisbrick, *Jewellery in Britain*, 97.

²³⁹ Scarisbrick, *Tudor and Jacobean*, 77.

²⁴⁰ Scarisbrick, *Jewellery in Britain*, 134.

²⁴¹ Heriot Accounts, fos.5 & 6.

²⁴² Heriot Accounts, fo.6.

²⁴³ Heriot Accounts, fo.7.

²⁴⁴ £1,238 8s pounds Scots.

²⁴⁵ Heriot Accounts, fo.8.

diamonds,²⁴⁶ a ring with nine diamonds, an engraved and enamelled chain, and a jewel with the queen's portrait engraved upon an agate and encircled with 24 diamonds. This impressive array of jewellery also provided an impressive debt of 718 crowns.²⁴⁷ Of this debt Heriot was paid only £150, which left £2,304 unsatisfied. Unfortunately, more was added to this amount; £990 10s from 14 February, £385 from March through May, and £260 for one jewel, a 'howell' in the form of a *fleur de lis* set with diamonds and rubies, on 2 May, providing a grand total of £3,939 10s.²⁴⁸

The queen's collection of jewellery continued to augment. Between 14 November 1596 and 19 January 1597, Anna received a jewel in the form of an 'A' containing 28 diamonds, two diamond rings in the form of serpents and a number of other smaller rings and earrings, totalling 283 crowns.²⁴⁹ This sum was added to £1,337 6s 8d remaining from an earlier account and £832 from an even older debt, creating a grand total of £3,159 16s 8d.²⁵⁰ In the first two months of 1598 Anna received a ring set with seven diamonds, a ring set with a pointed diamond, an 'aisker' containing 17 diamonds, a pair of bracelets containing 70 round oriental pearls, a ring with a large diamond in it, and a number of small rings of diamonds and other gems.²⁵¹ Between April and August she commissioned a jewel with her portrait encircled by 21 diamonds,²⁵² another jewel with her portrait 'with ane tablet of eletropia', a ring set with nine diamonds and her portrait in it, a jewel in the form of an 'A' set with 18 diamonds and 12 rubies, and the usual smaller items such as rings and 'hingers'. All totalled, the queen's expenditures on jewellery between 1 January 1597 and 15 September 1598 amounted to £4,927 3s 4d, of which Heriot received only £3,000.²⁵³

Although Anna was acquiring an immense jewellery debt, she continued to add to her collection. In January 1600, her purchases from Heriot included a ring with a great diamond, a cross containing six diamonds, two expensive diamond rings

²⁴⁶ Anna wore an anchor hanging below her collar in a miniature by Isaac Oliver. The anchor apparently symbolized the virtue of Christian hope: D. Scarisbrick, 'Anne of Denmark's Jewellery: The Old and the New', *Apollo*, CXXIII (April 1986), 234.

²⁴⁷ £2,454 Scots.

²⁴⁸ Heriot Accounts, fo.9.

²⁴⁹ £990 10s.

²⁵⁰ Heriot Accounts, fo.9.

²⁵¹ Heriot Accounts, fo.11.

²⁵² At a cost of 150 crowns, and the jewel with the portrait amounted to 120 crowns.

²⁵³ Heriot Accounts, fo.12.

and two cheaper rings, one with 11 emeralds and the other with five turquoises.²⁵⁴ By August 1600 she owed Heriot a total of 1,551 crowns which she promised to repay ‘in the word of ane princes’, pledging ‘ane greit dyament set in ane schattoun of gold together with ane fethir for ane hatt quhairin thair is set ane greit imerod and ane uther jewell contening 73 dyamentis’ to be held by him until her account was paid.²⁵⁵

A little elephant tusk tablet garnished with gold, a pair of unicorn’s horns,²⁵⁶ a pendant in the form of an ‘A’ containing 17 diamonds and eight rubies, a jewel containing 15 diamonds, and three ruby rings in the form of an ‘S’, among other items, were added to her collection by 4 January 1601.²⁵⁷ By July of that year she had another jewel with her portrait set with diamonds and rubies, a chain containing 19,000 round oriental pearls, more diamond rings, a carcanet set with diamonds, rubies and round oriental pearls, a ‘hinger’ containing 13 diamonds and 15 rubies, a ‘hinger’ containing a ruby and nine diamonds, and a little golden parakeet set with small stones.²⁵⁸

Her debts, by the start of April 1601 amounted to 2,876 crowns, which is hardly surprising considering her inability to pay her debts and her determination to add to them. Again the sum was promised ‘in the word of ane princes’, saying that 1,000 crowns would be paid by Whitsunday. Heriot still held the large diamond, a feather for a hat ‘wherein there is a great emerald’, another jewel containing 73 diamonds, and the recently added large table diamond set in a ring.²⁵⁹ The second item was likely the same emerald, set about with diamonds and rubies in the form of a feather, which Heriot returned to the queen in July 1601.²⁶⁰

Heriot, as was the custom of the period, provided decorative accessories in addition to his goldsmith work.²⁶¹ In May 1593 he provided a fan with a handle of

²⁵⁴ Heriot Accounts, fo.13. The great diamond was worth 100 crowns, and the cross with six diamonds also 100 crowns.

²⁵⁵ Heriot Accounts, fo.15.

²⁵⁶ This was thought to help detect poison, following the fable of animals waiting to drink while the unicorn tested the water’s purity with its horn. The horn was actually narwhal tusk: Scarisbrick, *Tudor and Jacobean Jewellery*, 52; *Jewellery in Britain*, 108.

²⁵⁷ Heriot Accounts, fo.16. The ‘A’ pendant was worth 100 crowns, the jewel with the 15 diamonds, 180 crowns.

²⁵⁸ Heriot Accounts, fo.17. The diamond and ruby portrait jewel cost 140 crowns, as did the 19,000 pearls; the diamond, ruby and pearl carcanet was 160 crowns.

²⁵⁹ Heriot Accounts, fo.18.

²⁶⁰ Heriot Accounts, fo.19.

²⁶¹ Scarisbrick, *Tudor and Jacobean*, 98.

‘agait orientall’ worth 150 crowns.²⁶² Between April and July 1600, the queen’s deliveries from Heriot included 254 gold buttons set with pearls, the gold having been provided by the queen. She also received several pieces of ‘heid atyre’,²⁶³ few of which were excessively expensive: one of gold and silver, another of silver, one of gold and pearls, and one made of hair. She also received two shoulder pieces and a neckpiece, all made of fine silver.²⁶⁴ The queen’s hair, if not enhanced with some headwear, would have been decorated with a number of jewelled bodkins although Heriot’s accounts, unfortunately, never specify which jewels were designated as such. Bodkins were jewels secured by needles and screws and worn at the side of the head or in the middle above the brow. At least in England, these proved to be the most numerous of Anna’s hair ornaments.²⁶⁵

In November 1602, Heriot delivered to the queen several items of apparel, such as stomachers and hats, along with a rapier and a dagger for Prince Henry and a pair of hangers embroidered with gold and silver, a dagger and belt for Duke Charles, several more gold- and silver-embroidered ‘sword hangers’, several feather fans of assorted colours, some with short feathers, some long, and one of white ostrich feathers, and a headpiece and veil of silver all of which amounted to £1,298 6s 8d.²⁶⁶

In addition to Anna’s commissions from Heriot, James made occasional use of the goldsmith’s services. James’s New Year’s gift to Anna in 1600 was a jewel from Heriot worth £1,333 6s 8d.²⁶⁷ Also that year, Heriot provided the king with a ‘great’ gold chain to which was attached the king’s miniature, the former at a cost of £611 18s 4d, the latter only £20 from Adrian Vanson, the king’s painter, which was given to a gentleman representing the duke of Mecklenburg.²⁶⁸ In January 1602, Heriot received two payments, one of £1,960 13s 4d for jewels which had been provided for the king’s use in 1598, and one of £4,107 13s 4d for jewels furnished that month.²⁶⁹ In September of that year, Heriot’s father received a payment of £316 13s 4d for a

²⁶² Heriot Accounts, fo.6.

²⁶³ The headwear was jewellery, usually fixed to a wire frame, often with pearls, and threaded into a lace-like design worn like a coronet at the back of the head: Scarisbrick, ‘Anne of Denmark’s Jewellery’, 232.

²⁶⁴ Heriot Accounts, fo.14.

²⁶⁵ Scarisbrick, ‘Anne of Denmark’s Jewellery’, 232.

²⁶⁶ Heriot Accounts, fo.21.

²⁶⁷ E.21/74, fo.95v.

²⁶⁸ E.21/76, fos.89r, 90v; Lenman, ‘Goldsmith-Jewellers’, 165.

²⁶⁹ E.21/76, fo.95v.

‘hinger’ which James ordered for Anna,²⁷⁰ although the jewels within the ‘hinger’ had been provided by Heriot, younger, at a cost of £580.²⁷¹ Between 20 November 1602 and 2 January 1603, the king received two ‘hingers’ containing 24 diamonds,²⁷² a ring containing five pointed diamonds, a carcanet set with emeralds and pearl, a sheer case of gold, and a ‘targat’²⁷³ for a hat set with diamonds, rubies and emeralds, amounting to a relatively insignificant sum of 330 crowns. On 1 January 1603, among the items James received were a jewel set with diamonds, rubies and pearls worth 350 crowns, a rock crystal cup (200 crowns), a bezoar stone²⁷⁴ (90 crowns), a chain containing 5,130 pearls (120 crowns) and a ‘hinger’ containing 25 diamonds (120 crowns), totalling 1,472 crowns. Two days later, the king received a chain containing 3,400 round oriental pearls.²⁷⁵ Although the above account may not seem excessive, Heriot was granted a payment of £7,577 6s 8d for jewels, including those mentioned above, which had been provided not only to James but also to Anna and the children between 20 November 1602 and 20 February 1603.²⁷⁶ Although James did not use Heriot’s services as often as Anna, when he did make use of them the items he ordered were of great value. Several of the jewels from the January account were likely given as gifts to servitors and courtiers.

As can be seen, Anna’s purchases and the resulting debt to Heriot continued to mount. In June 1599, James wrote to Lord Newbattle asking him to pay the queen’s debt to Heriot for which she had pledged some of her jewels. Apparently James had already requested this of another royal official but been denied because the money was needed to send an ambassador to France.²⁷⁷ Although the date is significantly later, July 1602, the accounts show that a very large payment, £12,095 15s 6d, was given to Andrew, Lord Young for his charges and expenses as an ambassador to the king of France.²⁷⁸ James tried again. It would appear that in January 1603 he gave

²⁷⁰ E.21/76, fo.178v.

²⁷¹ E.21/76, fo.179r.

²⁷² These were valued at 140 crowns.

²⁷³ Badges expressing intellectual concepts: D. Scarisbrick, ‘The Sixteenth Century’, in R.K. Marshall and G.R. Dalgleish, *The Art of Jewellery in Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1991), 12. This ‘targat’ was valued at 80 crowns.

²⁷⁴ Believed to act as an antidote to poison and highly prized, the stones were concretions from the intestines of ruminant animals, usually Persian goat: Scarisbrick, *Tudor and Jacobean*, 52.

²⁷⁵ Heriot Accounts, fo.23.

²⁷⁶ E.21/76, fo.219v.

²⁷⁷ Lenman, ‘Goldsmith-Jewellers’, 169.

²⁷⁸ E.21/76, fo.165r.

Heriot 'the wryttis concerning our chapell royall within our castell of Sterling' to cover Anna's expenses.²⁷⁹ Earlier accounts do record a payment 'to the queen', in November 1601, for £6,666 13s 4d.²⁸⁰ Although the purpose of this substantial amount is not stated, there is little reason not to believe it was intended to offset her jewellery and clothing accounts.

Once in England, Anna continued to purchase jewellery for her own pleasure and for her public prestige, regardless of her mounting debt, until her death in 1619. It was suggested that the queen's servants had stolen a number of the queen's jewels, as her collection at her death did not correspond to her vast debts.²⁸¹ All of Heriot's accounts for the queen's jewels included expenditures on rings and various items worth no more than 20 crowns. These were likely given as gifts, or signs of favour, to various courtiers, such as the delivery of a ring worth 30 crowns to John Naysmith at the queen's command in August 1601.²⁸² The depleted state of the queen's collection at her death could easily have resulted from Anna giving a number of her jewels away as gifts, rather than theft by her servitors.

James made use of a number of goldsmiths and jewellers as has already been noted, Heriot being only one of many. Thomas Foulis provided the most work for the king. As already stated, he received £1,466 5s prior to James's departure for Norway, for New Year's gifts from 1587, which had been pledged with a great tabled diamond. Foulis received a second sum in the amount of £2,427 13s 8d, although not until June 1590. As with the tabled diamond, this payment, by command of the king and privy council, was to unpledge some of the king's jewels: two tabled rubies and three large cabochon rubies enamelled with white, red and black.²⁸³ Seemingly all of these jewels were sent with James on his journey to Norway and Denmark and very likely became part of Anna's collection. Foulis also provided chains, worth £1,500, that were delivered to the Danish admiral and other noblemen in May 1590.²⁸⁴

Although Heriot's personal accounts may provide the best picture of jewellery purchased by James and Anna, payments in the treasurer's accounts show how often, and to what value, Foulis's services were used. In November 1590, Foulis received

²⁷⁹ Heriot Accounts, fo.3.

²⁸⁰ E.21/76, fo.67r.

²⁸¹ Scarisbrick, *Tudor and Jacobean*, 20.

²⁸² Heriot Accounts, fo.17.

²⁸³ *Papers Relative to Marriage*, appendix i: 18; E.21/67, fo.210v.

²⁸⁴ E.21/67, fo.202r.

£5,090 8*s* for the king's goldsmith work and jewels.²⁸⁵ New Year's gifts of 1591 provided an even larger sum, £10,008 12*s*, as it was the royal couple's first holiday since arriving from Denmark and they wished to provide suitably elaborate gifts.²⁸⁶ Payments for jewels and goldsmith work for the king in 1591 amounted to £6,734, not including £7,980 for the king's and queen's New Year's gifts.²⁸⁷ Three payments in 1592, again for jewels and goldsmith work, came to £5,092.²⁸⁸ In October 1593, Foulis received £13,500 as 'part payment' for furnishings provided to the king, and in August 1595 received £1,200 as part of a composition of remission,²⁸⁹ possibly granted to cover some old debts. It also took until March 1597 for Foulis to receive £1,000 'for extraordinar charges the time of the prince's baptism'.²⁹⁰ Another large payment to Foulis was £5,000 in October 1596 for a 'great diamond' for Anna.²⁹¹ Other payments for jewels, although not to Foulis, included £800 to William Borthwick for a jewel for the queen and £470 to George Cunningham, goldsmith, for jewels for the king.²⁹²

Although not a wealthy court, the king enjoyed giving gifts of jewellery to wives of favoured courtiers. James did just such a thing in 1600, with a number of different jewels ordered as gifts. First and foremost were his New Year's gifts for the queen: a jewel with a great emerald set about with diamonds (600 crowns), a jewel containing 29 diamonds (300 crowns), a chain and belt set with pearls (300 crowns), and a ring with a table diamond (100 crowns), all of which were received by James's master of the wardrobe, and at a cost of £4,333 6*s* 8*d*.²⁹³ In February, James ordered two pairs of chains and chain belts with matching garnishings, worth £1,333 6*s* 8*d*, which were given to the countess of Sutherland and mistress of Forbes on their wedding days.²⁹⁴ And in August, he propined Sir George Elphinstone's bride, on their wedding day, with a £580 gold chain and belt set with pearls and matching pearl garnishings.²⁹⁵ When looking at the value of these gifts to the wives of favoured

²⁸⁵ E.21/68, fo.68r.

²⁸⁶ E.21/68, fo.75r.

²⁸⁷ E.21/68, fos.98v, 160r, 111v.

²⁸⁸ E.21/68, fos.112r, 118r; E.22/8, fo.183v.

²⁸⁹ E.21/69, fo.225v; E.21/70, fo.170r.

²⁹⁰ E.21/70, fo.198r.

²⁹¹ E.21/71, fo.78v.

²⁹² E.21/76, fos.142r, 179r.

²⁹³ E.21/73, fo.105r.

²⁹⁴ E.21/73, fo.111r.

²⁹⁵ E.21/74, fo.50v.

courtiers, they appear extremely generous compared to the £266 13s 4d pointed diamond Anna received before Robert's baptism in May 1602.²⁹⁶

Jewellery was not the only love of the queen's; Anna had expensive, elaborate, and colourful taste in gowns. It can be assumed that her gentlewomen and other ladies wore similar styles and colours (although doubtless not of the quality of the queen's), making the court a very colourful arena. The queen's gowns with their wired, standing collars providing an excellent setting for her many jewels, as did her piled-up, and reinforced, hair.

Women's clothing was complicated, elaborate and uncomfortable. Underneath everything were worn stockings that were tailored to fit and gartered at the knee. Shoes of every possible colour were frequently of brocade although few had raised heels prior to 1600. Embroidery was used everywhere: on gloves, clothes, shoes and purses.²⁹⁷ The Spanish farthingale dress consisted of two pieces, a bodice and skirt. The bodice included a circular basque that spread out horizontally over the farthingale. Usually worn open in front and possessing a heavily stiffened under-layer, the bodice was attached by each side to a stomacher, a long, central triangular piece of material. A high-standing fan-shaped ruff, made of lawn or lace, extended up from the bodice and needed to be supported with a wire or buckram frame. The skirt, which was often worn open in front to display the underskirt, was gathered or pleated on to the waistband. The farthingale itself carried the skirt out horizontally at hip level before allowing the material to drop straight to the ground. The round or oval frame of the farthingale was frequently tipped forward allowing its front edge to fall to almost knee-level and requiring the skirt to be shortened by several inches in front just to clear the ground. Another style in women's fashions was a floor-length gown that often included a slight train and always had epaulettes. These usually sleeveless gowns were cut without a waist seam and worn loose or held in to the waist by a sash or ornamental girdle ('bend'). The variety of rich textiles would likely have been covered by the amount of embroidery and braiding (pasments) done to the garment, as well as the numerous chains, pendants and brooches added to ruffs, veils, sleeves,

²⁹⁶ E.21/76, fo.141r.

²⁹⁷ E. Wilson, *A History of Shoe Fashions* (London, 1969), 103, 115.

hats, doublets and bodices. Textiles were also frequently veiled under ‘cypress’ or other types of transparent fabrics.²⁹⁸

Anna’s gowns included one of London brown cloth, blue satin and white Spanish taffeta with sleeves and a bodice made of a Spanish taffeta that changed from blue to red.²⁹⁹ An older, and more subdued, gown of grey ‘weluraize’ was given new blue satin sleeves, while a double black Spanish taffeta gown had sleeves and a bodice of incarnadine (blood-red) Spanish taffeta.³⁰⁰ One of her more colourful creations was a three-coloured gown made from orange satin, orange and white silk, and orange, white and green Spanish taffeta.³⁰¹ Material that alternated between one colour and another appears to have been quite popular, as Anna also possessed a double Florence taffeta chamber gown that changed from columbine (dove-coloured) to green.³⁰²

Some of Anna’s gowns were more subdued, in relation to colour changes, but none would have been dull or boring, especially with her fondness for silver, gold and red. A gown to be worn at the baptism of one of her children was made of fine cloth of silver on brown silk, lined in peach-coloured double taffeta and decorated with silver and gold pasments (decorative edgings) and braid upon the sleeves and bodice and silver alone on the train.³⁰³ Another elaborate gown was made of cloth of gold on peach, with cloth of silver sleeves and bodice, gold and silver pasments on the gown and gold pasments and edging on the sleeves, bodice and train.³⁰⁴ One gown of white satin and cloth of gold contained 80 ells of gold pasments and edging.³⁰⁵ A gown of incarnadine satin was ‘fated’ with fine white cloth of silver and was completely covered in silver embroidery on the incarnadine satin and gold embroidered on the cloth of silver.³⁰⁶ Another gown was of silver-coloured satin, ‘fated’ in argentine satin worked in silver, and decorated with 82 ells of gold and silver braid.³⁰⁷

²⁹⁸ N. Waugh, *The Cut of Women's Clothes 1600-1903* (London, 1968), 23-6; G. Squire, *Dress Art & Society 1560-1970* (London, 1974), 59, 65.

²⁹⁹ E.35/14, fo.2r.

³⁰⁰ E.35/14, fo.2v.

³⁰¹ E.35/14, fo.2r.

³⁰² E.35/14, fo.8r.

³⁰³ E.35/13, p.4-5.

³⁰⁴ E.35/13, p.5.

³⁰⁵ E.35/13, p.5-6.

³⁰⁶ E.35/13, p.6.

³⁰⁷ E.35/13, p.6.

Men's fashions were equally as elaborate. Breeches, made with seams on the inside and outside of each leg, were fastened to the doublet by the old system of strings, or points. These came in a variety of shapes: skin-tight, smoothly padded to create an inverted pear-shape, fully-gathered or pleated with an interior hip-pad, or hanging wide and free. They finished just below the knee and were worn with separate knitted stockings supported by garters. The doublet was usually padded and quilted throughout, except for a narrow panel down the centre-back, with a separate piece of fabric laid over the interlining to produce a smooth exterior for the garment. It stopped at waist level at the back and sides but dipped down to a point in the front. The textiles themselves were often obscured by the amount of embroidery, braiding and appliqué work done to the garments. Men also wore 'bucket' boots, which were cut in a wide funnel shape up the leg, ending in deep tops cut of the same stiff leather. The tops were lined with varying types of material, although only a fine edged showed. The boots had some sort of stiffening inside to keep them rigid and often had broad, thick heels.³⁰⁸

James, although not on a level of his wife, certainly possessed a number of elaborate items of clothing. Upturned brims of hats and bonnets were the most popular location for pinning jewels although cloaks and the breasts and sleeves of doublets were utilised on occasion. As with the queen, elaborate jewelled and enamelled buttons of gold would have been added as decorations to items of clothing. The clothing of the king and his male courtiers would have been accessorised with a girdle or sword-belt, richly worked and jewelled. In April 1580, the accounts show a payment of £371 for three garments of cloth of gold, silk and silver damask.³⁰⁹ Three years later, three more outfits were made for the king, one of 'blew satyne cuttit upoun blew taffate to be doublet and breickis', one of green Spanish taffeta and the last of green velvet.³¹⁰ Although the style of cut and design is never mentioned it can be assumed that the king's tailors kept up to date on the latest fashions in Europe and that the king's clothing matched as closely as possible. Hats and bonnets were also a necessary accessory. James received six velvet-lined hats with strings, one hat

³⁰⁸ Squire, *Dress*, 48, 50, 55, 59; Wilson, *Shoe Fashions*, 124.

³⁰⁹ E.21/61, fo.19v.

³¹⁰ E.22/6, fos.88r-89v.

embroidered with gold, and another embroidered with silver, strings and feathers, in January 1602.³¹¹

Several items of the king's clothing, primarily winter cloaks, were lined, or edged, in fur. In December 1585, the royal furrier received £37 10s for 'eiking' and workmanship on the king's blue velvet cloak, a black velvet cloak, and his 'robe royal'.³¹² In December 1601, the furrier was allowed £24 to buy fur for finishing one of the king's velvet cloaks and £16 for 3 meerkat skins to 'graith his hienes gowne'.³¹³

The final outfits made for the king in Scotland, and perhaps his most elaborate, were prepared for his journey to England. These included purple velvet to be a 'dule cloik, coit and breikis', the coat and breeches of which were lined in Spanish taffeta, £205 to the furrier for furring of the above cloak, fine 'colour de roy' French cloth to be a riding cloak lined with 'colour de roy' velvet, 'fillimort' velvet to be a 'stand of ryding claithis', and fine violet cloth to be another riding cloak lined with purple velvet.³¹⁴ This would appear not to fit with his earlier statement that a king should be 'moderate in your rayment, neither ouer-superfluous (like a deboshed waister) nor yet ouer-base (like a miserable pedder) not artificialle trymmed and decked (like a Courtizane)'.³¹⁵

Regardless of the amounts spent on clothing and jewellery, Scotland's king seemed to be most interested in elaborate new saddles for his mounts. In the spring of 1586, he received two 'plain' hunting saddles and one saddle with a covering of red scarlet embroidered with gold and silver velvet.³¹⁶ He also possessed a number of boots, at least one pair of which were lined at the top with velvet.³¹⁷ Although the date is not specified, a clearer picture of the amount, and worth, of the king's saddles can be found in an inventory of the items in the king's *écurie*.³¹⁸ These included four velvet saddles for 'the four large horses', a saddle 'of the French fashion' that had come from England and was covered with velvet and gold decorations, six hunting saddles for six hunting horses, one incarnadine and blue footmantle, and one black

³¹¹ E.21/76, fo.227r.

³¹² E.21/64, fo.109v.

³¹³ E.21/76, fos.79v-80r.

³¹⁴ E.21/76, fos.259v, 260r-v.

³¹⁵ James VI, *Basilicon Doron*, 170-72.

³¹⁶ E.21/65, fo.68r.

³¹⁷ E.21/76, fos.79v-80r.

³¹⁸ E.35/15.

one, a pair of ‘pikking’ [i.e. spiked] boots with lace and socks of red crimson velvet and silver decorations, and a pair of riding boots with a pair of scarlet socks.

The children, too, were well provided with clothing and necessary items. Elizabeth had six linen hoods decorated with pearls, a brush for her hair, a straw basket covered in velvet, silk stockings, four dolls which cost half a mark each, and a constant supply of gowns from the royal tailor, Peter Sanderson, which appear in the treasurer’s accounts.³¹⁹ The same was true of Margaret for her short lifespan. The young princesses gowns were made of primarily the same material as their mother, primarily brightly coloured satins, velvets and Spanish taffeta.³²⁰ Even their retainers were well provided with clothing. Elizabeth’s mistress nurse, Alison Hay, and her sister, Elizabeth, received £75 for clothing, while Margaret’s rockers were given velvet and grosgrain to be gowns.³²¹ Although the exact stretch of years is not mentioned, a payment of £584 was given to the prince’s shoemaker in April 1603 for furnishing shoes, mules and boots to Prince Henry.³²²

Edinburgh merchant Robert Jossie furnished a large amount of the royal apparel. Between 1590 and 1600, the materials and decorations supplied by Jossie give a clear indication of the quality and quantity of the queen’s wardrobe. He provided Anna with cloth of silver on brown silk, cloth of gold ‘grondit’ on peach, plain cloth of gold and cloth of silver, pasments of gold and silver, double taffeta (peach, black), satin (white, silver-coloured, incarnadine, blue, orange), Spanish taffeta (white, brown, green, orange, yellow, red, blue, crimson), Florentine ribbons (white, blue, yellow, green, incarnadine, brown), silk (incarnadine, white, orange), velvet (black ‘cuistit’, black), London brown cloth, green damask, and silver cords.³²³ Jossie also supplied a number of velvet hats with feathers, a feather for the king’s hat of heron feathers, silk hose for the queen in yellow green, and incarnadine, and black satin masks with black Florence ribbons.³²⁴ In fact, Jossie seems to have created a comfortable position for himself within the king’s household through his royal provisioning. In April 1603, just prior to James’s departure for London, a Robert

³¹⁹ E.21/73, fo.51v; E.21/76, fos.161r, 220v; Marshall, *Winter Queen*, 19.

³²⁰ Marshall, *Winter Queen*, 19.

³²¹ E.21/76, fo.161r; E.21/73, fo.60v.

³²² E.21/76, fo.266r.

³²³ E.35/13, p.4-7; E.35/14, fos.1r-8r.

³²⁴ E.35/14, fos.1r-8r.

Jossie was ‘entered valet in king’s wardrobe’ for which he received £200.³²⁵ There is no reason to suspect that this was any Robert Jossie other than the Edinburgh merchant.

Heriot, too, provided decorative fabric accessories in addition to his goldsmith work.³²⁶ Between April and July 1600, the queen’s deliveries from Heriot were very much apparel-related. Among other things he provided stomachers: two sewn with gold and silver and one with a pair of lawn sleeves sewn with silver. Filling out her delivery were two embroidered ‘bendis’, three ‘wardingallis’, a white feather, a columbine-coloured feather, a grey feather, a white feather on a velvet bonnet and two velvet bonnets.³²⁷ In November 1602, Heriot delivered to the queen several more items of apparel which included several ‘castar’ hats, most embroidered with either gold or silver and decorated with a feather, one of which was for Henry and one for Charles, a white taffeta ‘bend’ embroidered with flowers and beasts, a ‘seygrem cyprus’ scarf embroidered with silver, two pairs of embroidered velvet mittens, several stomachers made of taffeta or lawn and embroidered with gold, silver, or both, an embroidered white satin ‘countenance’ and one of cloth of silver, and an embroidered purse.³²⁸ Several months later, Heriot delivered a number of luxury items to the king, which included a crimson velvet muffler embroidered with gold and pearls and a pair of gloves embroidered with pearls.³²⁹

The accounts for the royal clothing and necessary items amounted to a significant sum, especially for the impoverished Scottish court. Between 1 January 1599 and 1 January 1600, the accounts allowed £7,000 to James for his ‘abuilzementis’ while Anna was given the even larger amount of £10,000.³³⁰ Anna was supposed to have paid for her own expenditures out of the profits of her lands, which she did in regard to her debts with George Heriot. That James found it necessary to supplement her income with money from his own, and to supplement to such a large extent, leads one to suspect that Anna was spending significantly more than she should. James and Anna utilised the services of a number of Edinburgh’s

³²⁵ E.21/76, fo.264v.

³²⁶ Scarisbrick, *Tudor and Jacobean*, 98.

³²⁷ Heriot Accounts, fo.14. ‘bendis’ = girdles; ‘wardingallis’ = farthingales.

³²⁸ Heriot Accounts, fo.21.

³²⁹ Heriot Accounts, fo.23. The velvet, gold and pearl muffler was valued at 100 crowns. The muffler and gloves may have been gifts for Anna.

³³⁰ E.21/73, fo.105v.

merchants and goldsmiths thereby spreading their debt. Although between 1599 and 1600 James and Anna spent a total of £17,000 on clothing and accessories, the accounts of Robert Jossie show a bill of less than £5,000, and that for the entire last decade.³³¹ As the royal expenditures were already accounted for, it is likely that payments to merchants were made in cash and directly through household servants. Many luxury items, such as the fans, feathers, stomachers and elaborate material mentioned above, were obtained by Scottish royal agents in London, if not directly by the Scottish merchants. For example, in July 1589, James directed Jossie and Foulis to London to buy ‘certaine abulzementis and utheris ornamentis requisit for decoration of our Mariage’.³³² Some of the clothing for the king’s pages and lackeys was procured by James Hudson, the king’s merchant in London,³³³ proving that people other than the king, queen and royal children received imported items.

It was said that, upon her departure for London in 1603, Anna distributed all of her jewels, dresses, room hangings and any other items she possessed among her ladies that remained behind in Scotland, declaring ‘with tears in her eyes that if she had more she would have given it’.³³⁴ It could also be suggested that Anna did not want to bring any of her old, out-dated clothing to England or provide any excuse for the English people, or more specifically, the English court ladies to look down upon her. Furthermore, Anna assumed, as did James, that she would be arriving in a wealthy, jewel-filled court and that the more-plentiful coffers of England would provide all the luxury items she could ever want. Not surprisingly, she never let go of that vision and acted accordingly for the rest of her life.

Literature and Music

Literary patronage was conspicuous during the reign of James VI, who seems to have had less interest in the visual arts than most of the Stewarts, due in no small part to his intense scholarly pursuits. It has been claimed that poetry in the sixteenth century was a useful means of reinforcing one’s position at court, that the narrator was courtier and poet, participant and observer. As such, court poetry was a vehicle for

³³¹ E.35/13, p.7.

³³² *Papers Relative to Marriage*, appendix i: 3.

³³³ *CSP Scot.*, xiii, no.108.

³³⁴ Scarisbrick, ‘Anne of Denmark’s Jewellery’, 228.

the discussion of factional politics and perhaps even an endorsement of one particular position.³³⁵ Therefore it is not surprising that the most distinguished poets of the sixteenth century were almost invariably clients of the court, as it provided them with much subject matter, trivial and festive, as well as patronage.³³⁶ Poets also had a tendency to be well versed in music, leading to a collection of court-songs. James VI was well known as both a poet and a patron of poets. Rather than pursue the writings of the young king himself, the focus of the following section is to describe the poets who surrounded and influenced the king in his pursuits.

After his departure from the Stirling schoolroom in 1579 and the arrival of his French cousin, Esmé, James made a conscious effort to pursue his interests in poetry. Roderick Lyall makes the point that if the period of James VI's minority is marked by the absence of a court culture, then the young king quickly took steps to rectify that situation once he emerged from the tutelage of Buchanan.³³⁷ It should be noted, however, that James was still very young at this stage, and there is little reason to believe that it was solely his initiative that brought about an increased attention to court culture. Poetry was undoubtedly a natural interest for the young king to follow considering the interests of both his mother and his tutor, Buchanan. James surrounded himself with a group of poets who called themselves the Castalian band.³³⁸ Alexander Montgomerie, the king's 'maister poete', was the group's self-professed leader, and his background and contributions to Scottish poetry will be discussed further along, as will that of his greatest rival, Patrick Hume of Polwarth. The heyday of the band was primarily in the 1580s and early 1590s,³³⁹ although the king held them together into the mid-1590s. By this time, not only had the king's

³³⁵ Edington, 'Sir David Lindsay', 196, 208.

³³⁶ Under James IV, William Dunbar received a generous pension as a member of the royal household, while Gavin Douglas was the son of the 4th earl of Angus. Sir David Lindsay, as well as being an important poet and herald, had been master of the royal household during James V's minority.

³³⁷ R.J. Lyall, 'The Literature of Lowland Scotland, 1350-1700', in P.H. Scott (ed.), *Scotland: A Concise Cultural History* (Edinburgh, 1993), 92.

³³⁸ The name was derived from a spring in Mount Parnassus, which was frequented by the muses and Apollo: D.J. Ross, *Musick-Fyne: Robert Carver and the Art of Music in Sixteenth Century Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1993), 134.

³³⁹ This was the period, for the most part, of Montgomerie's ascendancy.

enthusiasm taken a back seat to matters of state but also the members of the band no longer held the close ties they had during its heyday.³⁴⁰

The Castalian band was a varied group, ranging from the older, established poets of the previous reign to the young courtiers who wanted to make a name for themselves. Two musicians who became part of the band, James's English violers, Robert and Thomas Hudson, had been attracted to the group primarily through Montgomerie's presence.³⁴¹ Apart from Thomas's translation of DuBartas' *Judith*, there is little information about his activities. Robert, it has been claimed, succeeded Montgomerie as 'maister poete' and received several sonnets, prior to his death in 1595, from Montgomerie in the hopes that Robert would act as a go-between in Montgomerie's attempts to restore favour with the king.³⁴² Also included in the band was William Fowler. Fowler, born into an Edinburgh burgess family and staunchly Protestant, held a solid court position as secretary to Queen Anna,³⁴³ penned the most complete description of Prince Henry's baptismal festivities, and became the leading court poet after Hudson's death although he apparently chose not to follow the court to England.³⁴⁴ Fowler's style was 'copious and determined, well-lettered and wide-ranging' and displayed a new direction through his interest in Italian poetry.³⁴⁵ The band's lone female, and seemingly one of the inner-circle, was Christian Lindsay,³⁴⁶ wife of William Murray, the king's master of the baggage.³⁴⁷ One member of the old school, Alexander Scott, who had written much poetry during the earlier part of the century, and especially during Mary's personal reign, was apparently still at court. Between 1580 and 1586 he seemingly kept in company with Robert Semple, Montgomerie and Robert Hudson, as they are all mentioned in a sonnet of Montgomerie's:

Ye can pen out tua cuple and ye pleis
Yourself and I, old Scot and Robert Semple

³⁴⁰ R.D.S. Jack, 'Poetry under King James VI', in R.D.S. Jack (ed.), *The History of Scottish Literature: Origins to 1660* (Aberdeen, 1988), 137. It is thought that James held them together as long as he did for political purposes.

³⁴¹ Jack, 'Poetry', 125.

³⁴² R.D.S. Jack, *Alexander Montgomerie* (Scottish Academic Press, 1985), 100.

³⁴³ Jack, 'Poetry', 125; Appendix 1: Fowler was appointed in Oslo, 28 November 1589 as queen's secretary and master of requests for which he received a yearly fee of £400: PS.1/66, fo.78v; E.24/22, fo.30r; E.24/23, fo.28r; E.24/24, fo.32v.

³⁴⁴ E.24/25, fo.23r.

³⁴⁵ Shire, *Song, Dance and Poetry*, 81.

³⁴⁶ Jack, *Montgomerie*, 101.

³⁴⁷ PS.1/58, fo.53v.

Quhen we are deid, that all our dayis bot daffis
Let Christian Lyndesay wryt our epitaphis.³⁴⁸

John Stewart of Baldynneis, a legitimate son through the marriage of one of James V's mistresses and John Stewart, 4th Lord Innermeath,³⁴⁹ was a shadowy figure at court. It has been suggested that Stewart 'spent his time sniffing about the fringes of James's Castalian Band and being overtly obsequious', but that the king did not like him and his poetry was not musically motivated.³⁵⁰ Stewart kept cordial relations with Montgomerie for years but eventually parted over disagreements on politics and religion. As for his work, Stewart wrote court pieces and translations from French and Italian poetry in the early 1580s, which were collected and presented to the king in 1586.³⁵¹ It has also been said of Stewart: 'We recognise in his work one of the vital features of Renaissance culture, the natural relation between the vigour of a ruthless and adventurous society, and the exuberance and even violence of its poetic manner'.³⁵² It is a fascinating description. And it is unfortunate that Stewart and his work were not more prominent at court and in history.

Two primarily Protestant poets were Alexander Hume and John Burel, neither of whom were part of the band's inner circle. Unhappy with the regime of Esmé Stewart, Hume, a university graduate, lawyer and member of a cadet branch of the Humes of Polwarth, decided upon a religious life over that of a courtier and become minister of Logie. Hume is known to have been musical; he played the lute and left behind a number of instruments at his death. It has been suggested that Hume wrote some of the best verse of the period, certainly the finest religious poetry.³⁵³ John Burel, a merchant burgess of Edinburgh and stepson of Thomas Acheson, master of the mint,³⁵⁴ wrote a number of pieces, including a description of the queen's entry and

³⁴⁸ Shire, *Song, Dance and Poetry*, 48.

³⁴⁹ M.P. McDiarmid, 'John Stewart of Baldynneis', *SHR*, xxix (1950), 53; Stewart was probably present the court of Mary: see the index to Lynch, *Mary Stewart: Queen in Three Kingdoms* (Oxford, 1988).

³⁵⁰ Personal correspondence with Donna Rodger Heddle, 13 November 1599. Dr Rodger [Heddle] has done the most recent work on Stewart of Baldynneis through a doctoral thesis at Edinburgh University.

³⁵¹ James took the collection of poems with him to London in 1603, although he did not take Stewart himself. Heddle says that James liked the collection as Stewart 'followed slavishly the poetical precepts set out by James in his 'Reulis and Cautelis to Prentes', personal correspondence; Jack, 'Poetry', 125-6; Shire, *Song, Dance and Poetry*, 80, 81; D. Rodger, 'The Auld Dalliance: Francophilia in the Poetry of John Stewart of Baldynneis', 8th International Conference on Medieval and Renaissance Scottish Language and Literature (Oxford, August 1996).

³⁵² McDiarmid, 'Stewart of Baldynneis', 62.

³⁵³ Shire, *Song, Dance and Poetry*, 81; Jack, 'Poetry', 126, 136.

³⁵⁴ Thanks to Jamie Reid Baxter for sending me the 'lang draft' of his *New DNB* entry on Burel.

coronation and a possible play, *Pamphilus speakand of Lufe*, both of which were published in 1590/1. *Pamphilus* was seemingly written to warn an adolescent duke of Lennox away from his infatuation with the earl of Gowrie's daughter, Sophia. Obviously it had little effect as Lennox 'caryed off' Gowrie's daughter and married here in April 1591.³⁵⁵ Some of Burel's writing criticised the king, but in a general, indirect fashion. In *An Application concerning our Kings Majesteis Persoun*, Burel used James's journey to Denmark as proof of the king's love but tempers that by warning against forgetting God.³⁵⁶ It has been suggested that Burel, although 'no master poet', wrote with lyrical diction, 'a reasonable amount of alliteration, frequent use of doublets, and various delicious Latinisms'.³⁵⁷

The Ruthven Raid of 1582 caused a lull in artistic expression as nothing came from the pens of the king or Montgomerie.³⁵⁸ After escaping the Ruthven regime, James made an effort to re-establish his Castalians. He brought together those who had been familiar with Montgomerie's earlier 'writing game', such as Robert and Thomas Hudson, Christian Lindsay, and Stewart of Baldynneis. This period also saw the first appearance of William Fowler. Others, such as Alexander Scott and Robert Semple, were thought to have been living in Edinburgh and Stirling and only invited guests rather than established servitors or courtiers.³⁵⁹

Before Montgomerie became the 'maister poet', the position was held by Sir Patrick Hume of Polwarth. It has been claimed that the revival of court culture was anticipated by Hume, the leading court poet of the late-1570s, who in June 1579 produced *The Promise*, 'a formal, celebratory poem which manifestly harks back to the stylistic norms of Dunbar, Douglas and the aureate Lyndsay'.³⁶⁰ Hume was replaced by Montgomerie in the early-1580s. What is especially interesting about Hume is his continued presence at court after the apparent end of his reign as leading court poet.³⁶¹ He appeared as one of the king's gentlemen carvers between 1582 and

³⁵⁵ *CSP Scot.*, x, no.557; Burel, 'Poems'; preliminary draft of text of essay published as J. Reid-Baxter, 'Politics, Passion and Poetry in the Circle of James VI: John Burel and his surviving works', in L. Houwen, A.A. MacDonald and S. Mapstone (eds.), *A Palace in the Wild* (forthcoming).

³⁵⁶ Jack, 'Poetry', 136.

³⁵⁷ Reid Baxter, preliminary draft of essay text.

³⁵⁸ Shire, *Song, Dance and Poetry*, 91-2.

³⁵⁹ Shire, *Song, Dance and Poetry*, 95.

³⁶⁰ Lyall, 'Lowland Scotland', 92.

³⁶¹ Hume also came from a family that had found wealth and favour at court. He married Julian Kerr, the daughter of Sir Thomas Kerr of Ferniehurst and sister of the king's future favourite, Robert, earl of

1589, a gentleman of the queen's chamber from August 1590 through December 1591, and the queen's master household from April 1601.³⁶²

The most famous poet of James's youth, Alexander Montgomerie,³⁶³ arrived at court towards the end of 1579, possibly with the entourage of Esmé Stewart. In the time between Mary's abdication and the Ruthven Raid, he pursued a triple career as a soldier of fortune, in Flanders and elsewhere (frequently mentioned as 'captain'), courtier and poet. It has been suggested that relations between James and Montgomerie were at their most cordial in the late-1570s and early-1580s, coinciding with Montgomerie's close ties to Lennox. Much of his verse was influenced by French authors, primarily Marot and Ronsard, and provided a welcome change for the young king who not only wanted to please his French cousin but also welcomed a move away from the Latin leanings of Buchanan.³⁶⁴ Montgomerie, like most early Castilians, was drawn to French models of poetry although he was also aware of work produced in England.³⁶⁵ He has been described as follows: 'At times spikily outspoken, at others smoothly decorous, hardly the faceless maker, Montgomerie epitomizes the stylistic range of Middle Scots verse at the end of the sixteenth century, a range we are only now learning to appreciate'.³⁶⁶

Between 1579 and 1582, in what Helena Shire calls the 'first phase', the 'writing game' of James and Montgomerie was done under the mantle of 'staitly style', and demonstrated to the young king that the 'making' of poetry was a serious art but could be indulged in for fun.³⁶⁷ At some point, probably either in 1580 or 1581, Montgomerie challenged Hume to a *flyting*, an open slanging match between two poets, the result of a rivalry for possession of the king's patronage. Montgomerie, the winner, took enjoyment in the way he 'chaist Polwart from the chimney nook [a privileged place by the King's fire]'.³⁶⁸ A similar *flyting* had taken

Somerset: Note to Montgomerie and Polwarth, *The Flyting*: draft of Parkinson, *Montgomerie's Poems* (STS, forthcoming).

³⁶² Appendix 1.

³⁶³ Montgomerie was the third son of John Montgomerie, 4th laird of Hessilheid, and a distant cousin of James VI through his mother.

³⁶⁴ Jack, *Montgomerie*, 3-6; H.M. Shire (ed.), *Alexander Montgomerie: A selection from his songs and poems* (Saltire Society, 1960), 8, 9.

³⁶⁵ Jack, *Montgomerie*, 47.

³⁶⁶ Parkinson, draft chapter: 'Authorship and Alexander Montgomerie' from *Montgomerie's Poems*.

³⁶⁷ Shire, *Song, Dance and Poetry*, 83.

³⁶⁸ Lyall, 'Lowland Scotland', 93. Shire thinks that the Flyting happened in the late autumn of 1580 (*Song, Dance and Poetry*, 79).

place between James IV's court poets, Dunbar and Kennedy, and provides some parallels with the James VI *flyting*. In each case, the lesser-established poet challenged the senior court poet.³⁶⁹

It has been suggested that James and Montgomerie adopted nicknames: Montgomerie was 'Rob Stene' and the king, 'William Mow'.³⁷⁰ This leads to a number of interesting questions. There apparently was an actual William Mow, who had been known to the court in Dalkeith, and Rab Stene, or Robert Stevin, was master of the grammar school of the Canongate and died in January 1618.³⁷¹ It has been suggested that, in regards to the poetry game, Stene and Mow were the *personae* of Montgomerie and James. Jokes about 'Rab Steen', his breeches, and his poetry style are said to 'haunt the records and the verses' of the Castalians.³⁷² In Polwarth's last *flyting*, Montgomerie was called 'Rob Stene':

Thy speich but purpois, sporter, is espyit
That wreitis of wichis, warlochis, wraiths and wratches
Bot Invective, aganis him þow defyit.
Rob Stene, 'õ'e raif, for'õ'etting quhom 'õ'e mache.³⁷³

It is also generally thought that *Rob Stene's Dream* from 1591/2, although anonymous, was Montgomerie's.³⁷⁴ George Neilson, on the other hand, was certain that the Rob Stene of court was the same man as the grammar school Robert Stevin.³⁷⁵

The existing household accounts, rather than shed light on the subject, further complicate it. Between July 1580 and October 1590, a 'Robert Stevin', referred to either as poet or king's daily servitor, received small payments of £10 to £40 'for his support'.³⁷⁶ A payment to 'Robert Stewin poet' appeared in March 1596 and another to 'Rob Stevin poyet' in July 1598.³⁷⁷ The final payments are found in a separate receipt book in which Robert Stevin's signature appears three times: December 1598, 'Outliverais £359' (his name appears below James Lauder); January 1599,

³⁶⁹ Jack, *Montgomerie*, 26. The lesser established poets were Kennedy and Montgomerie.

³⁷⁰ Jack, *Montgomerie*, 7.

³⁷¹ G. Neilson, 'Rob Stene: A Court Satirist under James VI', *SHR*, ii (1905), 257-8.

³⁷² Shire, *Song, Dance and Poetry*, 88, n88.

³⁷³ Parkinson, *Flyting: Montgomerie's Poems*; or 'Rob Stevin, thou raves forgetting whom thou matches-': Neilson, 'Rob Stene', 253. According to Shire, he is called 'Rab Stewin', *Song, Dance and Poetry*, 88.

³⁷⁴ Shire, *Song, Dance and Poetry*, 88, n88.

³⁷⁵ Neilson, 'Rob Stene', 253-9.

³⁷⁶ E.21/61, fos.35r, 69v; E.21/63, fo.75r; E.21/65, fos.76v, 120r; E.21/66, fo.71r; E.21/67, fos.105r, 144v, 171r, 225r; *ER*, xxi, 410 (£72 for wages in 1588).

³⁷⁷ E.21/70, fo.197v; E.21/72, fo.79v (and p.58 from NAS transcript covering accounts of E.21/72).

‘Outliverais £359 12s 4d’ (again with others such as Lauder); and February 1599, ‘Outliverais £359 12s 4d’ (includes signatures of James Lauder and William Hudson).³⁷⁸ What the accounts prove is that there was a ‘Robert Stevin / Rob Stene, poet’, who belonged to the Scottish royal household between 1580 and 1599. Montgomerie, on the other hand, appeared in the treasurer’s accounts only once, as ‘Captain Alexander Montgomerie’, receiving money for a horse that he gave to the king in March 1584.³⁷⁹ He also appeared, once, in the privy seal records, again as ‘Captain Alexander Montgomerie, king’s servitor’, with a grant in March 1589 of a 500 merks yearly pension ‘for good, true thankfull service’.³⁸⁰

So, was Montgomerie appearing in the accounts as Stene, or was there a real Rob Stene? The dates suggest the existence of only one man. The first appearance was not long after Montgomerie’s own appearance at court and the last date was only one year after the date at which it is generally thought Montgomerie died, although no one knows exactly when that occurred. On the other hand, the case for a real Rob Stene should be strengthened by the fact that payments continued during the time Montgomerie was out of the country and after July 1597, when Montgomerie had been put to the horn (it is highly unlikely that the treasurer would have continued payments to a traitor).³⁸¹ Ultimately, it is left to the literary scholars to decide.

Returning to the known information about Montgomerie, James granted his favoured poet a pension in August 1583 out of the vacant see of Glasgow.³⁸² Unfortunately, this led to much conflict between poet and patron as the pension was annulled in 1585 during the conflict over a successor to Beaton as archbishop of Glasgow. Nevertheless, upon Montgomerie’s departure (with the king’s approval and commission) for France in 1586, he was granted a guaranteed continuation of his pension.³⁸³ If this was the same pension that was annulled in 1585 is unclear. The poet is thought to have returned to Scotland sometime in 1589 or 1590. Even though

³⁷⁸ E.34/48, p.1, 4, 9. (Special thanks to Dr Alison Rosie at the NAS for double-checking this reference, and E.21/72, following a frantic e-mail).

³⁷⁹ E.22/6, fo.157v.

³⁸⁰ PS.1/59, fo.88r.

³⁸¹ If the Robert Stevin of the accounts was the grammar school teacher, it would likely have been the case that the accounts would have listed him as such. Certainly, throughout the accounts, Hercules Rollock appears, and is always noted, as ‘master of the grammar school’. Would not this have held true for Stevin as well? Stevin’s accounts stated only ‘servitor’ or ‘poet’, with no mention of anything else.

³⁸² Shire, *Song, Dance and Poetry*, 94.

³⁸³ Jack, *Montgomerie*, 11; Shire, *Song, Dance and Poetry*, 106.

Montgomerie was granted a supposedly separate 500 merks pension in 1589, he continued to fight for his Glasgow pension upon his return to Scotland. Finding himself barred from the court, he enlisted the aid of the young duke of Lennox and fellow poets to plead his case.³⁸⁴ Montgomerie addressed one sonnet to ‘my best beloved brother of the band’, Robert Hudson, in the hopes Hudson could use his influence at court:

‘Õ’it ‘õ’e haif sene his Grace oft for me send
 Quhen he took plesure into poesie.
 Quhill Tyme may serve perforce I must refrane
 That pleis his Grace I come to Court agane.

Loue vhome they lyk, for me I loue the King
 Whose highnes laughed som tym for to look
 Hou I chaist POLWART from the chimney nook.³⁸⁵

Another sonnet was directed to the king himself, reminding James of Montgomerie’s loyal service and the king’s promised pension:

Sen will not wit, to lait vhilc I lament,
 Of sight not service, shed me from ‘õ’our grace.
 With, not without ‘õ’our warrand ‘õ’it I went
 In wryt, not words. The papers ar in place.
 Sen chance not change hes put me to this pane
 Let richt, not reif my Pensioun bring agane.

Wes Bishop Betoun bot restord agane,
 To my ruin reserving all the rest
 To recompence my prisoning and pane!
 The worst is ill, if this be bot the best.
 Is this the frute Sir of your first affectione,
 My Pensioun perish vnder your protectione?³⁸⁶

A further sonnet was addressed to the lords of Session in the hopes that, if the case be brought before them, they would prove more amenable to Montgomerie’s argument.³⁸⁷ Between 1591 and 1592, Montgomerie, if not fighting for his pension, wrote sonnets supporting vociferous opponents of the king. If Montgomerie wrote *Rob Stene’s Dream*, as is generally assumed, it can be seen to side with Bothwell, or possibly as an invective against the character and conduct of the chancellor.³⁸⁸ There

³⁸⁴ Shire, *Song, Dance and Poetry*, 110.

³⁸⁵ No.73, *To Robert Hudson*, Parkinson.

³⁸⁶ No.69, *To His Majestie for his Pensioun*, Parkinson.

³⁸⁷ No.70, *To the Lords of the Session*, Parkinson.

³⁸⁸ Shire, *Song, Dance and Poetry*, 110; *Rob Stene’s Dream*, xiii.

were also less politically sensitive subjects in court politics: Montgomerie had written several sonnets to, or about, a number of courtiers such as Sir Robert Drummond of Carnok, master of works, at his death: ‘All buildings brave bids Drummond nou adeu / Quhais lyf furthsheu he lude thame by the laiv’;³⁸⁹ to Mistress Lily [Sophia] Ruthven, duchess of Lennox;³⁹⁰ to James Lauder, king’s musician;³⁹¹ to Margaret Montgomerie, daughter of the 3rd earl of Eglinton, who married Robert, Lord Seton in April 1582;³⁹² and one to William Murray, master of the king’s baggage (and husband to poet Christian Lindsay).³⁹³

The final chapter in the poet’s life occurred in 1597 and had nothing to do with poetry. Montgomerie, due to taking part in a Catholic plot to hold Ailsa Craig in order to aid the earl of Tyrone’s rebellion in Ireland, was summoned to answer charges by the privy council in July 1597 and, failing to appear, was denounced as a traitor and put to the horn.³⁹⁴

The king, it has been claimed, intended for his literary movement to align itself with the latest literary advances in Europe.³⁹⁵ Additionally, James was very particular about the themes and styles utilised by his band. Rather than concentrating on the love-cult and long love poems, the Castalians preferred shorter, thematically linked groupings. Sonnets were used for courtly eulogies, moral or theological argument, or in support of personal petitions. Although love did appear as the theme in some works, it was not as important or as strongly emphasised as in other European countries. They also liked to imitate French models, although Fowler led a move towards Italian models.³⁹⁶ With the exception of Montgomerie, none of the Castalians were especially outstanding with lyrical poetry.³⁹⁷ Although the Castalians wrote in Scots, they were beginning to anglicise their verse before the move to England in 1603.³⁹⁸ There is a distinct possibility that a number of poems were composed to

³⁸⁹ No.57, *Epitaph of the Maister of Work Sir Robert Drummond of Carnok knight*, Parkinson.

³⁹⁰ No.76, *To Mistress Lily Ruthuen duches of Lennox*, Parkinson.

³⁹¹ No. 80, *James Lauder / I wald se mare (anagram for Iames Lawder)*, Parkinson.

³⁹² No.87, *Of My Lady Seton Margaret Montgomerie*, Parkinson.

³⁹³ No.96, *From London to William Murray*, Parkinson. Note: Parkinson suggests that the most likely William Murray was Lindsay’s husband although the king’s household contained a number of William Murrays - see Appendix 1.

³⁹⁴ Jack, *Montgomerie*, 13; Shire, *Song, Dance and Poetry*, 113.

³⁹⁵ Jack, ‘Poetry’, 126.

³⁹⁶ Jack, ‘Poetry’, 127; Shire, *Song, Dance and Poetry*, 15.

³⁹⁷ Jack, ‘Poetry’, 128.

³⁹⁸ Jack, ‘Poetry’, 137.

dance tunes and, it has been suggested, those poems which refer to issues topical at court were written for dance-and-song performances there.³⁹⁹

Music was also an important part of the court and court festivities, appearing in various forms and often accompanied by poetic verse. It has been suggested that a repertory of art-song existed as long as Scotland had a court, changing and developing in its own way, and somehow surviving periods of violence when court-life itself was in abeyance.⁴⁰⁰ Court-song, that enjoyed by a courtly company, was, in the sixteenth century, usually part-song: in three or four parts for viols or voices. ‘Musick-fyne’, sacred or secular part-writing for voices or instruments, fortunately survived the rigours of the Reformation. It has been claimed that Mary’s abdication marked the end of any form of liturgical activity requiring great works of artistic creativity. However, as she had encouraged and participated in much secular music-making, in emulation of the French court in which she had been raised, some had survived her fall.⁴⁰¹ The French influence returned with the arrival of Esmé Stewart. Even after the Reformation the court did not dispense with its musicians, as is shown by the presence of the king’s violers. Furthermore, Regent Morton made extensive and shrewd use of the services of trained musician Andrew Blackhall.⁴⁰²

The young king and his councillors made a concerted effort to revive music in Scotland. On 11 November 1579, James enacted statutes containing specific and practical recommendations for the revival of the song schools:

For instructioun of the youth in the art of musik and singing which is
almaist decayit and sall schortly decay without tymous remeid be
providit, oure souerane lord with avise of his thrie estaitis of this
present parliament, requeistis the provest baillies counsale and
communitie of the maist speciall burrowis of this realme, and of the
patrons and provestis of the collegis quhair sang scuilis are foundat, to
erect and set up ane sang scuill with ane maister sufficient and able for
instruction of the yowth in the said science of musik, as they will
answer to his hienes upoun the perrell of thair foundationis and in
performing of his hienes requeist do unto his majestie acceptable and
gude plesure.⁴⁰³

³⁹⁹ S. Carpenter, ‘Early Scottish Drama’, in Jack (ed.), *Scottish Literature*, 203.

⁴⁰⁰ Shire, *Song, Dance and Poetry*, 1.

⁴⁰¹ Ross, *Musick-Fyne*, xxviii.

⁴⁰² Ross, *Musick-Fyne*, xxviii.

⁴⁰³ *APS*, iii, 174; J. Purser, *Scotland’s Music* (Edinburgh, 1992), 113.

Surprisingly, song schools had survived the Reformation and still preserved and nurtured an appreciation of polyphony, thus making revitalisation of the pre-Reformation musical establishment more easily accomplished.⁴⁰⁴ The importance of the act was that it placed all responsibility for the teaching of music on the burghs.⁴⁰⁵ Kenneth Elliott suggests that a collection called the 'Art of Music', containing several examples of Scottish music, appeared at about the same time and could have been linked to the song school revival. He further proposes that Blackhall may have been involved, as several psalm-settings included in the collection display characteristics of his style.⁴⁰⁶

The king's youthful court had a preference for the more elaborate part-writing, rather than that offered by homophonic settings, and practically the only concession to Calvinists was the adoption of vernacular religious texts.⁴⁰⁷ The part-song, *Now let us sing*, a drinking song praising the young king, was probably written to celebrate James's triumphal entry into Edinburgh as it refers to two items in James's entry: Bacchus and a fountain running with wine.⁴⁰⁸ It is suggested that the song reflects the optimism which would have greeted an emergence from minority.⁴⁰⁹

Although not musically gifted himself, James encouraged his musicians to associate with the poets of the Castalian band, thus creating a musical revival.⁴¹⁰ It has been suggested that a 'happy conjunction of poet and musician', such as Montgomerie's associations with Lauder, the Hudsons and Blackhall, at court contributed to 'the flowering of court-song in Scotland'.⁴¹¹ During James VI's reign many tunes heard were dance-tunes or dance-songs which, although often set to a specific ballad, likely had other sets of words which worked as well.⁴¹² This 'flowering' seems to have ended during the time that Montgomerie was away, or out of favour, as Fowler's poetry is not thought to have been put to music and no records planning court 'Maskardes' exist.⁴¹³ Elaborate music was performed at Prince

⁴⁰⁴ Ross, *Musick-Fyne*, 87, 96.

⁴⁰⁵ K. Elliott, 'Some Helpes for Young Schollers: a New Source of Early Scottish Psalmody', in A.A. MacDonald, M. Lynch and I.B. Cowan (eds.), *The Renaissance in Scotland* (Leiden, 1994), 268.

⁴⁰⁶ Elliott, 'Some Helpes', 268.

⁴⁰⁷ Ross, *Musick-Fyne*, 89.

⁴⁰⁸ M. Lynch, 'Court Ceremony', 76.

⁴⁰⁹ Ross, *Musick-Fyne*, 133-4.

⁴¹⁰ Jack, *Montgomerie*, 45.

⁴¹¹ Shire, *Song, Dance and Poetry*, 179.

⁴¹² Shire, *Song, Dance and Poetry*, 34.

⁴¹³ Shire, *Song, Dance and Poetry*, 180.

Henry's baptism in 1594 although for the ceremony itself it was primarily the singing of Psalm xxi, which was sung 'according to the art of music', meaning sung in reports, a specifically French and Scottish musical device.⁴¹⁴

Andrew Blackhall, a trained musician as well as a canon at the abbey of Holyrood before the Reformation and minister of Liberton in 1564, was closely acquainted with aspects of the High Renaissance style, demonstrated by his use of five-voice settings for treble, alto, two tenors and bass. Blackhall wrote a composition to the young king in 1569, 'Giffin in propyne to the kyng', possibly in hopes for promotion at court; it set the words of Psalm ci into an anthem for five voices.⁴¹⁵ He also wrote an arrangement of Psalm cxxviii, *Blessed art thou*, commissioned by Morton for the June 1573 marriage of Archibald, 8th earl of Angus (Morton's nephew and heir) to Mary Erskine (Mar's sister, and niece of Alexander Erskine, the king's keeper). The arrangement was set in five parts and accompanied by viols, oboes and other instruments. Morton's reasoning behind the commission was, according to James Ross, clearly to ease his access to the young king as well as to mark the linking of such powerful dynasties.⁴¹⁶ In February 1579, Morton's commission of Blackhall's *Judge and revenge my cause*, Psalm xliii, was presented to the king in the hopes of deflecting attention from the long-standing rumours of Morton's involvement in Darnley's murder, reminding the king of past services, and enlisting his support for the destruction of the Hamiltons. Morton's decision to use music to ingratiate himself with the king indicates that James's love of music was already well developed.⁴¹⁷ It also did no good as Morton was arrested, imprisoned, and eventually executed in 1581. Additionally, it has been suggested that Montgomerie's *The Cherry and the Slae* was meant to be sung to the same tune, by Blackhall, as his earlier *About the Bankis of Helicon*, although the former was given a new four-voice setting.⁴¹⁸

The most well known of the king's musicians were the Hudsons, an English family of musicians with connections in York, who had been part of his household

⁴¹⁴ Purser, *Scotland's Music*, 116.

⁴¹⁵ Elliott, 'Some Helpes', 267; Shire, *Song, Dance and Poetry*, 69-71.

⁴¹⁶ Shire, *Song, Dance and Poetry*, 70; Purser, *Scotland's Music*, 117; Ross, *Musick-Fyne*, 90; Shire states that it was for the occasion of the marriage of the earl of Mar with Angus's sister, although the *SP* supports Ross's view.

⁴¹⁷ Ross, *Musick-Fyne*, 90-2; Elliott, 'Some Helpes', 267; Purser, *Scotland's Music*, 114.

⁴¹⁸ Jack, *Montgomerie*, 106; Elliott, 'Some Helpes', 268.

since infancy and had arrived in Scotland in the entourage of his father, Henry, Lord Darnley.⁴¹⁹ That they were placed in the infant prince's household and remained there through the various regencies suggests strong affinities with either Protestantism or England, although it has been noted that Thomas Hudson was a good French scholar.⁴²⁰ There were five Hudsons at one point although only four, James, Robert, Thomas and William, appeared with any frequency, usually as violers although they were 'sangistaris' as well. It is possible that there was a father, Thomas, who either died or retired, as there was a mention of a Thomas, younger.⁴²¹ They were formally appointed as 'oure soverane lordis domestick servandis', each with a yearly fee of £50, in December 1578.⁴²² The four appeared together in accounts of 1572, 1573, 1577, 1579, 1580 and finally in 1589.⁴²³ Accounts of 1590, 1594 and 1595 mentioned only three: Thomas, Robert and William.⁴²⁴ There is no music directly attributed to any of the Hudsons but it is thought that their long residence at court may have influenced the style of music found there.⁴²⁵

None of the four Hudsons was simply a musician; together, they provided a variety of services for their king. Robert and Thomas were part of the Castalian band. Robert, a close personal friend of Montgomerie, was made treasurer of the Chapel Royal in 1587 and served until about 1593. He was granted a yearly fee of £100 in January 1594 before retiring to Dunfermline, where he died in 1596.⁴²⁶ Thomas received a payment of £66 13s 4d in February 1582 for weapons and apparel 'to a mask dance',⁴²⁷ suggesting some connection with the preparation or performance of court masques. He was then appointed as master of the Chapel Royal in 1586 and had the task of re-building an institution which had 'fallen into decay'.⁴²⁸ The final records of Thomas occur with a grant of a yearly fee of £110 in January 1594 and a yearly pension of 500 merks, as master of the Chapel Royal, in October 1594.⁴²⁹

⁴¹⁹ Appendix 1; Shire, *Song, Dance and Poetry*, 56.

⁴²⁰ Shire, *Song, Dance and Poetry*, 72; Ross, *Musick-Fyne*, 133.

⁴²¹ Shire, *Song, Dance and Poetry*, 70.

⁴²² RSS, vii, 1744.

⁴²³ TA, xxii, 12, 322, 371; TA, xxiii, 176, 260; ER, xx, 359; ER, xxi, 152; ER, xxii, 63.

⁴²⁴ E.21/67, fo.202v; ER, xxii, 386; ER, xxiii, 44.

⁴²⁵ Shire, *Song, Dance and Poetry*, 73.

⁴²⁶ PS.1/66, fo.45v; Shire, *Song, Dance and Poetry*, 72.

⁴²⁷ E.21/62, fo.172v.

⁴²⁸ Shire, *Song, Dance and Poetry*, 72.

⁴²⁹ PS.1/66, fo.45v; PS.1/68, fos.21r/v.

William Hudson had the added duty of acting as the king's dancing instructor; he appeared as such from December 1575 until January 1584, and received a fee of £100 for his 'extraordinar pains taikin in teitcheing of his grace to danse'.⁴³⁰ It has been suggested that William orchestrated the king's introduction to dance-music and court-dances such as the pavan and galliard.⁴³¹ In August 1597, William replaced his deceased brother Robert as treasurer of the Chapel Royal.⁴³² The last brother, James, served the king, primarily in an un-musical capacity, as agent and merchant. Starting in 1583, the king relied on James as a royal envoy between Scotland and London.⁴³³ In April 1587, he received at payment of £250 'at his departing to England' and in October 1593 was given £180 'to be given to officers at exchequer house at London'.⁴³⁴ There were several occasions at which James was requested to provide various items of merchandise for the court in Scotland. He continued to serve the king following the court's move to England.

Another important court musician was James Lauder, already mentioned in relation to Montgomerie, who hailed from a family containing generations of talented and trained musicians. Lauder had been a young musician under the patronage of the Edinburgh town council in 1552 and by 1562 had acquired the patronage of the young queen, being created a musical *valet de chambre*.⁴³⁵ He was the leading musical composer of Mary's reign; he wrote several pieces for the virginal, an instrument played by both himself and the queen.⁴³⁶ Even after her departure from Scotland, Lauder was found in close attendance on the queen, and named a *valet de chambre* during her custody in Tutbury Castle. Sometime after the arrival of Esmé Stewart, Lauder appeared at James's court, although he apparently remained loyal to the deposed queen his entire life.⁴³⁷

One of Lauder's first services for James was to purchase 'twa pair of virginells' in London for the king.⁴³⁸ He was *persona non grata* with the Ruthven

⁴³⁰ TA, xiii, 87, 166; E.21/61, fo.65r; E.21/62, fo.161r; E.22/6, fo.144r.

⁴³¹ Shire, *Song, Dance and Poetry*, 73.

⁴³² PS.1/69, fo.164v.

⁴³³ Shire, *Song, Dance and Poetry*, 73.

⁴³⁴ E.21/65, fo.138r; E.21/69, fo.225r.

⁴³⁵ Shire, *Song, Dance and Poetry*, 56.

⁴³⁶ Ross, *Musick-Fyne*, 137.

⁴³⁷ Shire, *Song, Dance and Poetry*, 75-6.

⁴³⁸ Shire, *Song, Dance and Poetry*, 76.

lords and thus not only did he disappear from court records, but court-song as well.⁴³⁹ Lauder went to France sometime in 1586, returning two years later. He was named a musician in the household but was unsuccessful in his bid to be *valet de chambre* to James as he had been to Mary.⁴⁴⁰ As a court musician, it was probably Lauder, rather than the Hudsons, who arranged vocal and instrumental pieces for court entertainments.⁴⁴¹

Other musicians of the court included an organist, John Robson, who appeared in the late-1570s, a minstrel, John Baxter, who appeared in the mid-1570s and a lute player, Walter Scott.⁴⁴² There was also an Irish clarsair player, Rory Dall O'Cahan, who visited James's court.⁴⁴³ Interestingly, antagonisms developed between clarsairs / harpists and fiddlers over the ages, although nothing specific for James's court is ever mentioned.⁴⁴⁴ Another composer, William Kinloch, likely influenced by Lauder, wrote a number of keyboard pieces, from simple dances to elaborate pieces, in the latter decades of the century.⁴⁴⁵ Trumpeters were perhaps the most prevalent of musicians, being used in all manner of occasions, including travelling with heralds to make proclamations throughout the country. They were always present at ceremonial occasions at court, or as has been stated, trumpeters and tabourners were 'the lowd musick of royalty'.⁴⁴⁶

Regardless who wrote the pieces or who performed them, there were a number of instruments which could be utilised for court festivities. Outdoor ceremonies could include fanfare trumpets, cornets, sackbuts and drums, cymbals and some double-reed instruments such as the Scottish pipes.⁴⁴⁷ Indoor instruments tended to be stringed such as the bowed lyre and psaltery, similar to our modern guitars, viols, and the non-stringed recorders. The instruments could have been used in any groupings and often accompanied by voices.⁴⁴⁸ Some form of organ also existed as the 1st earl of Mar was

⁴³⁹ Shire, *Song, Dance and Poetry*, 91-2.

⁴⁴⁰ Appendix 1; Shire, *Song, Dance and Poetry*, 78.

⁴⁴¹ Shire, *Song, Dance and Poetry*, 79.

⁴⁴² Appendix 1.

⁴⁴³ Purser, *Scotland's Music*, 130.

⁴⁴⁴ Purser, *Scotland's Music*, 131.

⁴⁴⁵ Ross, *Musick-Fyne*, 137.

⁴⁴⁶ H.M. Shire, 'Music for 'Goddis Glore and the Kingis'', in J.H. Williams (ed.), *Stewart Style 1513-1542* (East Linton, 1996), 122.

⁴⁴⁷ Ross, *Musick-Fyne*, 116.

⁴⁴⁸ Ross, *Musick-Fyne*, 116-17.

noted as having stripped three organs, and everything else thought papistical, from Stirling's chapel royal after James's baptism.⁴⁴⁹

Theatre, more so than poetry or music, suffered from the austerity and strictures of the new Protestant kirk. It has been suggested that the forces involved in the Reformation gradually turned against theatre until not just religious drama was attacked, for its content, but theatre, in general, was suppressed and the development of new forms prevented.⁴⁵⁰ Folk dramas were forbidden from the 1560s to the 1580s, due to a fear that the plays would create a negative social response and because of religious opposition.⁴⁵¹ The General Assembly was concerned not only about plays being held on Sundays, which was ultimately forbidden, but that a wide range of the population was attending plays. The younger and rowdier elements of the population did not concern them so much as the elders, deacons, and other office bearers in the kirk who attended plays.⁴⁵² The kirk ministers even argued that Anna's official entry into Edinburgh, with its varied tableaux and celebrations, be moved from a Sunday to a Tuesday.

It was not the case that plays were never performed in the towns. The master and scholars of Edinburgh's High School presented, in 1598, a 'comédie' complete with pope, two cardinals and five friars. In addition to a performance within the school precinct, a second scaffold was erected at the Tolbooth. Anna Mill suggested that a 'more popular form' of the same play might have been performed for the town's inhabitants.⁴⁵³ That the ministers allowed a play to occur seems quite unusual, as they generally did all in their power to prohibit such displays. Indeed, James had to force the kirk in Edinburgh to allow public performances by a troupe of English actors whom the king supported. The king even provided £40 to the 'English comedians' to buy timber to build a playhouse in November 1599.⁴⁵⁴ Further support of £400 appeared in December 1601.⁴⁵⁵ It has been suggested that these performances were the 'first and only' attempt to establish a commercial, public theatre in Scotland.⁴⁵⁶ Since there was no commercial theatre in Scotland, the only real source of support for

⁴⁴⁹ Purser, *Scotland's Music*, 116.

⁴⁵⁰ Carpenter, 'Drama', 199.

⁴⁵¹ Carpenter, 'Drama', 201.

⁴⁵² A.J. Mill, *Mediaeval Plays in Scotland* (New York & London, 1969), 32.

⁴⁵³ Mill, *Mediaeval Plays*, 90.

⁴⁵⁴ E.21/73, fo.88v.

⁴⁵⁵ E.21/76, fo.89r.

⁴⁵⁶ Carpenter, 'Drama', 210.

the drama, especially after the Reformation, was the court, and when the court moved to England so did theatrical support.⁴⁵⁷

Apart from the support of troupes of players, the court provided much of its own entertainment in the form of plays or masques, which accompanied major court events. Marriages and baptisms were especially popular for courtly performances as they provided a venue at which the king could express dynastic importance as well as forward political goals.⁴⁵⁸ As will be mentioned later, royal baptisms, coronations and entries could combine lavish spectacles with symbolically appropriate messages in plays. Unfortunately, very little information about court masques of James's reign exists today. The king himself composed what is thought to be a masque for the wedding of George Gordon, earl of Huntly, to Henrietta Stewart, sister of Ludovick, duke of Lennox, in 1588 as it touched on the close relationship between the king, his current favourite and Esmé's daughter, who was 'beloved by the King as a daughter'.⁴⁵⁹ Other indications of court masques include the payment to Thomas Hudson for weapons and apparel to a 'mask dance' in 1582 and payments in 1592 for corded taffeta and 'gold tock' to be the queen's 'masking cloths'.⁴⁶⁰

It should be remembered that even the royal court was subject to the censures of the kirk. In 1575, the General Assembly prepared an article for presentation to the Regent which included punishment to 'all those who kept Yule and other festivals by ceremonies, banqueting, playing, fasting, and sick uther vanities'.⁴⁶¹ This included the behaviour of the king and court. Indeed the Edinburgh Presbytery 'strenuously' protested against the Yule festivities of the court at Dalkeith in 1598:

The presbyterie being informit of the greit abus that hes bene in the kingis maiesteis hous, in the town of edinburgh and vther partis about the keeping of yule hes ordanit that his maiesteis ministeris speik his maiestie that ordour may be taken with his hous.⁴⁶²

To prevent such an occurrence from happening again the following year the Presbytery ordered two ministers 'to ga to the kingis maiestie and to craue that

⁴⁵⁷ Carpenter, 'Drama', 209.

⁴⁵⁸ Carpenter, 'Drama', 202.

⁴⁵⁹ *SP*, iv, 544; Carpenter, 'Drama', 203.

⁴⁶⁰ E.35/14, fo.1r.

⁴⁶¹ Mill, *Mediaeval Plays*, 91.

⁴⁶² Mill, *Mediaeval Plays*, 109, n109-10.

yoolkeiping may be stayit'.⁴⁶³ What should be remembered about the Yule festivities of 1598 was that Anna had given birth to a daughter, Margaret, on Christmas Eve. What better reason could a royal court have for celebration?

Architecture & Art

Architecture in Scotland during James VI's minority seems to have been almost at a standstill. Most of the work that was completed related to general repairs in and around the royal palaces, as has been mentioned in greater detail above. The major architectural undertakings were the rebuilding of the chapel royal in Stirling in preparation for the baptism of Prince Henry in 1594, and the newly built Queen's Lodgings at Dunfermline between 1590 and 1600. New research on Jacobean court architecture and architects by Aonghus MacKechnie sheds much light on both royal and noble building plans of the period.⁴⁶⁴

Portraiture, on the other hand, held a constant court patronage, in Europe as well as Britain. Henry VIII's painter, Hans Holbein, is well remembered for his portraits that hint at the characters of Henry's courtiers as well as documenting their appearances. The art of painting was concerned with depicting images and events as they should have been, the more to inflame the mind to worthy and virtuous deeds.⁴⁶⁵ Royal portraits, which displayed majesty, power, and importance, were always very political in nature.⁴⁶⁶ The motivation of English art collectors was not aesthetic in the Elizabethan age, but rather dynastic as portraits were an expression of rank and class.

It has been suggested that a variety of themes effected painting in Scotland, during the last four decades of the sixteenth century. Perhaps the most important theme was the turmoil that existed in the country during James's minority as various factions jockeyed for control of both the government and the young king. Strife, unrest and an ever-increasing deficit in the treasury made for a difficult course to follow. Furthermore, painters of any degree and sophistication were rare, and those

⁴⁶³ Mill, *Mediaeval Plays*, 109, n109-10.

⁴⁶⁴ For more information see MacKechnie, 'James VI's Architects', in Goodare and Lynch (eds.), *Reign of James VI*, 154-69.

⁴⁶⁵ Strong, *English Icon*, 52.

⁴⁶⁶ R. Strong, *Portraits of Queen Elizabeth I* (Oxford 1963), 21: In her portrait for Catherine de Medici, as negotiations for the Anjou match were at a climax, Elizabeth was attired all over *à la Française*. In her 'Armada' portraits she is dressed entirely in the manner of the French court under the last Valois.

that existed were inevitably foreign, their names often being omitted in records,⁴⁶⁷ probably because Scottish scribes seem to have been incapable of dealing with any foreign name (they had a difficult enough time with Scottish names).

Portraiture, at the time, was used primarily for the practical purpose of carrying a likeness to someone who would otherwise have no way of seeing the subject, and as such it had to conform to the standards of the English and continental courts.⁴⁶⁸ However, portraiture was still the central activity of James's court painters, although public occasions, in which painted imagery and decoration, important as a ceremonial link between crown and people, played an important role were frequent.⁴⁶⁹ Native painters existed but there are no surviving works that would suggest knowledge of the continental traditions of painting; it is likely that most were confined to decoration of ceilings, walls, and heraldry. Nevertheless, such decorative painters were especially active and patronised by a wide segment of the social spectrum.

The first appointment of a painter to James VI was Arnold Bronckhurst, a Fleming, who was appointed to that office on 19 September 1581, for life, with a pension of £100 yearly. Bronckhurst was present at court before that time as he was recorded in the treasurer's accounts in October 1580: 'to Maister Arnold, paynter to the Kingis majestie'.⁴⁷⁰ It has been stated that Bronckhurst's manner of painting was sensitive but adventurous, and international in the sense that it derived from Anthonis Mor.⁴⁷¹ Bronckhurst returned to London sometime in 1583 and was replaced at court by Adrian Vanson, also a Fleming, who had been in Scotland since 1581.⁴⁷²

Ceremonial and Festive Occasions

Ceremonial occasions of the Scottish court were a rare occurrence between 1567 and 1579. The first major one was the official entry into Edinburgh by a young James VI

⁴⁶⁷ D. Thomson, *Painting in Scotland 1570-1650* (Edinburgh, 1975), 10; see in above 'Household Furnishings' section, the mention that Arnold Bronckhurst was given a payment of £66 13s 4d as thanks for coming to work in Scotland.

⁴⁶⁸ Thomson, *Painting in Scotland*, 9-10, 12.

⁴⁶⁹ D. Macmillan, *Scottish Art 1460-1990* (Edinburgh, 1990), 46, 48; Burel, 'Poems' (primarily his poem describing Anna's entry into Edinburgh).

⁴⁷⁰ RSS, viii, 474; TA, xiii, 413.

⁴⁷¹ Thomson, *Painting in Scotland*, 11.

⁴⁷² Appendix 1.

in October 1579. This was followed nearly 11 years later by the coronation and entry of James's queen, Anna of Denmark. As was hoped, the young royal couple produced the requisite royal children. Most importantly they provided a male heir, whose baptismal celebrations at Stirling in 1594 were more expensive and elaborate than the king's own baptismal triumph of 1566. Baptisms of the other royal children followed, although none measured up to Henry's, either in scale or expense, primarily because the country could no longer afford such elaborate display.

Apart from the expected ceremonies, such as the entry, coronation and baptism, there were numerous banquets to entertain visiting dignitaries, triumphs to celebrate the weddings of Scottish courtiers, and general holiday festivities, even if the latter were regularly frowned upon by the Protestant ministry. The most noticeable analogy between these activities was the Scottish court's valiant effort to place itself on a level plane with its European contemporaries. By approaching the following sections with an eye to relativity, the attempts and similarities between Scottish and European courts become much easier to grasp. Scotland was a small country with severely limited financial resources, and therefore it cannot be judged on a par with the much larger and wealthier countries of France and England, for example. If these factors are taken into account, the ceremonies and festivities described below take on an entirely deeper meaning, and show Scotland in a more positive light.

Royal Entries

The royal entry, which occurred in the more important towns throughout the kingdom, was perhaps the highest form of royal propaganda, upholding the exalted position of the monarchy and the splendour of the king and his court while enhancing the status of the town. It was unique in that it enabled a large number of the king's subjects, who would never have been invited to court, to see him. Continental rulers used it as a prime chance to introduce new artistic themes to the court and kingdom. The Parisian entry of Henry II in June 1549, for example, made use of myths and symbols to designate Henry as the new French Hercules.⁴⁷³ A royal entry also served to

⁴⁷³ Baumgartner, *Henry II*, 108.

display the talents of artists and architects to the leading patrons of the realm, thus setting the tone for the cultural style of the reign. The following section covers the entries from a historiographical and account-related view, rather than delving into underlying themes and reasoning.⁴⁷⁴

Young James VI's first entry to a royal burgh was at the age of five. Although not a full royal entry complete with pageants and tableaux, it was nevertheless young James's first experience of processing through town. At the end of August 1571, accompanied by the regent and several of the nobility, James, dressed in his royal robes, rode from Stirling Castle to the Stirling Tolbooth where he made his first public speech. What was interesting about this early entry was that the Honours of Scotland, the sword, sceptre and crown, had to be newly made for the occasion as the originals were held by the Queen's faction in Edinburgh Castle. The sword and sceptre were made of gilded wood while the crown was crafted of gilded brass.⁴⁷⁵

James's first official entry into his capital of Edinburgh, the primary seat of parliament and the home of the College of Justice, occurred in the middle of October 1579. Two months prior to the events, the privy council issued a proclamation that all of the king's subjects between the ages of 16 and 60 should be ready to travel to Stirling in order to accompany the king on his journey to Edinburgh.⁴⁷⁶ They were to come 'in peciabil maner, without ony gunnis, firewerk, or other armour, thair swirds and quhizearis onlie exceptit'.⁴⁷⁷ The importance of the entry into Edinburgh can be seen by the congregating of so many nobles and lords. James was convoyed from Stirling to Linlithgow on 29 September. The following day he was escorted to Holyroodhouse by the earls of Morton, Angus, Argyll, Montrose, Mar, Lords Lindsay and Ochiltree, the masters of Livingston and Seton, and approximately 'two thowsand hors or thereby'. Arriving at Corstorphine, he was met by several hundred more horsemen, primarily from the powerful Lowland Homes and Kerrs. Continuing on to Edinburgh's 'Long Gate', where he dismounted, James was met firstly by the

⁴⁷⁴ For more information about themes and comparisons with other entries see: A.A. MacDonald, 'Mary Stewart's Entry to Edinburgh: an Ambiguous Triumph', *IR*, xlii (1991), 101-10; Lynch, 'Court Ceremony', 71-92; See also D. Gray, 'The royal entry in sixteenth-century Scotland', in S. Mapstone and J. Wood, *The Rose and the Thistle: Essays on the Culture of Late Medieval and Renaissance Scotland* (East Linton, 1998), 28, 30. The role of Edinburgh in court festivities is discussed in greater length in Chapter 4: Edinburgh and the Court.

⁴⁷⁵ Johnston, 'History', fo.468.

⁴⁷⁶ Birrell, 'Diary', fo.28r.

⁴⁷⁷ *RPC*, iii, 218.

burgesses of Edinburgh, arrayed in their armour, and then, at the 'Quarrell Holes', by inhabitants of the town of Leith. The cannons were shot off from the castle and the ships in the harbour.⁴⁷⁸

James did not reside at Holyroodhouse during the entire fortnight before his entry. On 12 October, he and a number of his nobility travelled to Dalkeith, the home of the earl of Morton, where they were banqueted and entertained until their return to Edinburgh on 15 October.⁴⁷⁹ This delay was also planned so that 'the whole nobility and gentlemen' could gather in time for the parliament that was held following the king's entry.⁴⁸⁰

James made his official entry to the burgh on 19 October 1579, an entry organized and financed by Edinburgh itself.⁴⁸¹ Beginning at the West Port under a canopy of purple velvet, he was presented with the 'Wisdom of Solomon', as written in the first chapter of the third book of Kings, by the town magistrates. After the king's entrance at the Port, John Sharp made a harangue in Latin. Edinburgh's provost, baillies, treasurer, and dean of guild accompanied the king on horseback. The rest of the council and the 'honest men' of the town, numbering between 300 and 500, were clothed in velvet, satins and silks, and 24 officers, dressed in velvet-lined black silk gowns, were also present. As the procession moved further into the town along the West Bow they passed an 'ancient port', from which hung a 'glorious' globe that mechanically opened as the king came past. Inside the globe was a 'bonny' young boy who descended in order to present James with keys to the town of fine silver, during which time 'dame music and her scholars exercised her art with great melody'.⁴⁸² This was probably the same globe that had been used in 1561 at Mary's entry⁴⁸³ and that would be used again in 1590 at Anna's royal entry.

Descending the High Street, James came to the Old Tolbooth decorated with painted dials and the crafts' standards and pensils, where appeared four virtuous ladies: Peace, Justice, Plenty, and Policy, each of whom presented the king with an oration. Thereafter he came to St Giles' where, 'Dame Religion' requesting his

⁴⁷⁸ Calderwood, iii, 457; *RPC*, iii, 223f.

⁴⁷⁹ Moysie, *Memoirs*, 25; Johnston, *History*, fo.524r.

⁴⁸⁰ Lynch, 'Court Ceremony', 74-5.

⁴⁸¹ Edin. Min., v, fo.156r.

⁴⁸² Moysie, *Memoirs*, 25; Adv. MS 31.6.10, fos.92r-93r; Johnston, *History*, fos.524r-v; Calderwood, iii, 458-9.

⁴⁸³ MacDonald, 'Mary Stewart's Entry', 105; Lynch, 'Court Ceremony', 75-6, 84.

presence, James alighted, entered the kirk and listened to James Lawson make a ‘notable’ sermon on embracing religion and all of her cardinal virtues, after which Psalm xx was sung. From St Giles’, James went to the Mercat Cross where he was presented with Bacchus, sitting on a puncheon and dressed in his painted garment and a flower garland, distributing, to all who passed, wine which flowed freely from the spouts of the cross. At the Salt Tron, James was met with a genealogy of the kings of Scotland, and the melodious sound of trumpets and voices crying ‘Welfare to the King’. At the Netherbow the configuration of the planets at the time of the king’s birth was displayed and represented with an explanation by ‘King’ Ptolemy. Throughout the entire town the streets were covered with flowers and the houses fronting the king’s route were hung with magnificent tapestries and the effigies of many noblemen and women.⁴⁸⁴

The emphasis on the king’s ancestry and the decorations through the town were ‘general, conservative and unexceptionable’. It has been suggested that the celebration was underpinned by two main themes: astrology and education. Astrology was especially apparent at the Netherbow where Ptolemy acted as ‘the representative of astronomy’, describing the relationship between the seven ages of man and the seven planets. The king’s education was evident throughout as he was met with orations in Latin, Greek, Hebrew and Scots.⁴⁸⁵

Edinburgh was not James’s only official entry. Although very little documentation remains that could provide details of his other entries, it can be assumed that some form of official entry was made into each of Scotland’s major burghs. It is highly doubtful that any was as elaborate as the entry into Edinburgh, but Edinburgh, as the capital and by far the richest burgh, was in a class by itself. It is known that in late-August 1581, James travelled from Edinburgh to Glasgow where he ‘maid his entress’.⁴⁸⁶ This ‘entry’ could be the reason for a payment from the Glasgow burgh records in which 20s was paid to Margaret Ross for a breakfast given by her to the children, ‘makeris of the pastyme to the Kingis Majestie’.⁴⁸⁷

⁴⁸⁴ Moysie, *Memoirs*, 25; Adv. MS 31.6.10, fos.92r-93r; Johnston, *History*, fos.524r-v; Calderwood, iii, 458-9; Lynch, ‘Court Ceremony’, 77.

⁴⁸⁵ Lynch, ‘Court Ceremony’, 78.

⁴⁸⁶ Johnston, ‘History’, fo.538r.

⁴⁸⁷ Mill, *Mediaeval Plays*, Excerpts from local records, Glasgow, 15 March 1582, 244.

Arrangements for the arrival of Scotland's young queen and her civic entries had been in effect since her expected landing in the autumn of 1589. According to the Leith reception plans of 16 September 1589, Earl Bothwell, admiral, along with Lords Seton and Dingwall and Peter Young, was to board the vessel and welcome the queen (Young to do so in Latin). Earl Marischal (the king's proxy at the marriage) and Bothwell were then to accompany the queen and her ambassadors to shore. Upon landing, she was to have been led up stone steps at the top of which waited 16 Scottish noblewomen and 16 noblemen and councillors. A Turkish 'tapeis', or tapestry, was to be laid from the head of the stairs to the scaffold and on to the hall door, both side of the scaffold being covered and hung as well. James, alone, was then to welcome his queen before leading her to the hall, then departing to his own lodgings. During the queen's remaining in Leith, Colonel Stewart, with some assistance, was to take command of the ports and the guard alongside her lodging. Nothing was to be done that would 'unquiett' the queen. The care of the Danish ambassadors was entrusted to the Earl Marischal, Colonel Stewart, the laird of Halhill and William Melville, and refreshments were to be served in Leith with the earl's silver work. The three Danish ambassadors were to be lodged in John Kinloch's house, and the vice-admiral of Denmark and the 'speciall Danish gentlemen' to be lodged in Robert Cunningham's house in the Canongate. The justice clerk and Lord Dingwall were to make sure the lodgings were acceptably furnished.⁴⁸⁸ Calderwood stated that this form was somewhat altered due to the king's voyage to Norway.⁴⁸⁹ At the time these arrangements were made, no one would have expected Anna's party to be hampered by storms or that James would rush to her rescue in Norway.

Apart from formal arrangements for the welcome of the young Scottish queen, attention was paid to mundane items. These included the provision of two horses and saddles with footmantles of black velvet that were to be prepared for the queen's own immediate use. One was to be decorated and fringed with gold, the other with silver. Saddles, footmantles and 30 horses were also to be provided for the use of the commissioners and Danish gentlemen accompanying Anna.⁴⁹⁰

⁴⁸⁸ Calderwood, v, 60-3.

⁴⁸⁹ Calderwood, v, 64.

⁴⁹⁰ *Papers Relative to Marriage*, 30.

Rather than risk a dangerous crossing on rough winter seas, James and Anna spent the winter months enjoying the hospitality of her Danish relations. By the time of their actual arrival in Scotland, several new arrangements for their welcome had been made. Thus it was that James and Anna arrived in the Firth of Leith on 1 May 1590 at two in the afternoon accompanied by four of the 'nobility and blood royal' of Denmark and 60 Danish gentlemen, including Peder Munk, admiral of Denmark, in a convoy of between seven and 13 ships. With a large number of people watching along the shore, they were received by the duke of Lennox, Earl Bothwell and earl of Mar. It must have been an extremely noisy welcome as not only were the cannons from Edinburgh Castle shot but also those at the South and East ferries, as well as from the ships of the convoy. Upon landing, James led Anna by the hand up a trance covered with tapestries and cloth of gold, made so 'that thair feit sould not twitch the bair earth'. They were greeted with an oration in French, praising God for their safe and prosperous voyage. Anna and the Danish noblemen were settled in Thomas Lindsay's house while James attended a service at the kirk of Leith giving thanks for their safe arrival.⁴⁹¹

On 6 May, at approximately four in the afternoon, James and Anna began their journey from Leith to Holyroodhouse. James and his noblemen rode ahead with Anna, a maid of honour on each side, following in a silver coach drawn by eight stallions outfitted in cloth of gold, silver and purple velvet. The queen was escorted by her master of the household, a number of Danish ladies, Lord Hamilton and the rest of the nobility, and followed by a number of Scottish noblewomen. Footmen from the towns of Edinburgh, Canongate, Leith, Musselburgh, Preston and Dalkeith, to the number of 1600, arrayed in their armour, lined the route. Upon arrival at the middle gate to the abbey, the horsemen alighted; James took Anna's hand and past through the inner close to the great hall and then to their chambers. The palace had recently been repaired and was decorated for the occasion with hangings of cloth of gold and silver and silk tapestries.⁴⁹²

⁴⁹¹ 'Joyfull Receiving', 3; Johnston, *History*, fo.597; Calderwood, v, 94; *Papers Relative to Marriage*, 37-8; Stevenson, *Royal Wedding*, 57-8; Williams, *Anne of Denmark*, 26-7. It is unclear whether or not the queen and her Danes attended the service at Leith as not all accounts agree.

⁴⁹² 'Joyfull Receiving', 3-4; Johnston, *History*, fo.597; *Papers Relative to Marriage*, 38-9; Williams, *Anne of Denmark*, 28.

On 19 May, two days after her coronation as Scotland's queen in Holyrood Abbey, Anna made her official entry into Edinburgh, which had been well-decorated for the occasion:

At Edinburghe, as micht be seene
Upon the nintene day of Maij
Our Prences Spous, and soueraigne Queen
Hir nobil entry maid that day
Maist honorable was hir conuoy
With gladnes gret, triumph and ioy.

The stairs and houses of the toun
With Tapestries were spred athort:
Quhair Histories men micht behauld
With Images and Anticks auld.⁴⁹³

Much of the entry, certainly the route followed and a few tableaux, had been seen before in 1561 and 1579⁴⁹⁴ although now it was even more elaborate and contained more music.⁴⁹⁵ And rather than presenting speeches in several languages as in the king's entry, Anna's were presented in Latin, as she did not yet know Scots and few others would have known Danish.

Riding in her private 'goldin' coach, beautifully decorated for the occasion, she was accompanied by 36 Danish lords on horseback, each of them accompanied with a Scottish lord or knight, most of whom were dressed in cloth of gold and silver and chains of gold and precious stones, followed by Anna's ladies who were clothed in cloth of gold. They departed Holyroodhouse by the south side of the Canongate yards then up by the park dyke before turning west and entering Edinburgh at the West Port.

John Russell gave an oration in Latin at the West Port. As at the 1579 entry, Anna's coach was surrounded by the provost, baillies and councillors of Edinburgh who, arrayed in their black velvet gowns, carried an embroidered canopy of purple velvet, signifying the queen's divinity, above her head. Following Russell's oration, the queen continued on to the Over Bow where she was presented with two silver keys to the city and a bible by Russell's son who, dressed as an angel (with a white

⁴⁹³ Burel, 'Poems', 'The Discription of the Queenis Maiesties Maist Honorable entry into the Tovn of Edinbvrgh, Vpon the 19 Day of Maii 1590'; *Papers Relative to Marriage*, ii. More information about the town's preparations for the entry can be found in Edinburgh and the Court: Court Expenditures.

⁴⁹⁴ MacDonald, 'Mary Stewart's Entry', 101-10; Lynch, 'Court Ceremony', 71-92.

⁴⁹⁵ Lynch, 'Court Ceremony', 84.

taffeta cloak), emerged from a globe coloured in red, blue and green, lowered from the top of the port, which opened into four quarters.⁴⁹⁶ At the ‘throat’ of the Over Bow, Hercules Rollock, master of the grammar school, gave a speech. Following this was a platform upon which stood a globe of the world, next to which sat a boy, representing a king. Organs played, musicians sang, and a child made a Latin speech at the Butter Tron where nine fair maidens, costly apparelled in cloth of gold and silver, represented the nine muses. At the Tolbooth, Anna was greeted by Virtue surrounded by her four daughters: Prudence who held a Serpent and a Dove (men should be as wise as the serpent but as simple as the dove); Justice, holding in her hands the Balance and Sword of Justice; Fortitude who held a broken pillar (representing the strength of a kingdom); and finally Temperance, holding a cup of wine and a cup of water. Anna continued on to St Giles’ where she heard a sermon by Robert Bruce after which the bells in the steeple peeled.

Just as in the earlier entries, Bacchus was situated at the side of the Mercat Cross from which claret flowed abundantly while musicians and violers played. At the top of the cross was a table with wine-filled cups of gold and silver and at which sat the ‘Goddess of Corn and Wine’, behind her piles of corn. Anna continued to the Salt Tron where the king’s genealogy was represented. In this entry, however, the genealogy was presented in the form of a tree with Robert the Bruce as its base. A child at the tree’s base described all of the branches. It was said that the speechmaker had been lying as if sick and had to be awakened by soldiers at the queen’s arrival. In the Danish Account of the entry, the genealogical tree was said to have represented a combination of James and Anna’s ancestors, with Christian I at the base, rather than Robert the Bruce, to show their shared heritage.⁴⁹⁷

Anna found at the Netherbow a display of the seven planets. Unlike James’s entry, which presented a tableau of the seven ages of man in relation to the seven planets, as described by Ptolemy, Anna’s entry included a tableau of the marriage of a king and queen, surrounded by their nobility. At her arrival, a youth blessed the marriage, gave thanks to God, and spoke of love for the king and queen. Then from the top of the port was lowered, on a silk string, a box covered with purple velvet,

⁴⁹⁶ Similarly, Mary had been presented with the keys of the burgh by a six-year old boy ‘descending as it were from a cloud’: MacDonald, ‘Mary Stewart’s Entry’, 105.

⁴⁹⁷ ‘The Danish Account’ in Stevenson, *Royal Wedding*, 107-20.

embroidered with an 'A' and set with diamonds and precious stones worth an estimated 20,000 crowns, her welcoming present from the town of Edinburgh.⁴⁹⁸

Anna was preceded the entire length of her journey by 60 dancing young townsmen masquerading as Moors. These young men were dressed in white taffeta or cloth of silver with gold chains about their necks, bracelets around their arms and rings on their fingers, all set with diamonds and other precious stones. With white staffs in hands to beat off the throng of people the Moors passed between the horsemen and the queen's coach:

For sum wer clad in silver pure,
And sum in Taffatie white like snaw:
Ay twa and twa in ordour stands,
With battons blank into thair hands.
Ilk ane in ordour keepit place,
Als well the formest as the last,
Thir MOIRS did mertch befor her Grace,
Quhile sche intill hir Pallace past.⁴⁹⁹

The gold chains worn about the necks of the Moors symbolised the links between royal subjects and their queen, and had been seen in the 1561 entry.⁵⁰⁰ It was further remarked that during Anna's progress through the town there 'was nothing but ringing and tolling of bells, beating of drums, roaring of cannons, with all sorts of musical instruments and singing'. The castle also shot off its cannons several times and the town celebrated that night with bonfires.⁵⁰¹

Although not a ceremonial occasion like those of his mother and father, young Prince Henry made his entry to Edinburgh on 31 May 1603. Anna had accompanied him from Stirling to Linlithgow the previous Friday and, joined by the duke of Lennox and other noblemen, came to Edinburgh the following Saturday evening. On Tuesday, Henry and his mother went from Holyroodhouse to St Giles', riding in a coach and accompanied with many 'English ladeis' in coaches and riding on fair horses. Calderwood stated: 'great was the confluence of people flocking to see the

⁴⁹⁸ 'Joyfull Receiving', 4-6; Moysie, *Memoirs*, 159; Birrell, 'Diary', fo.29r; Anderson, *History*, fo.243r; Johnston, *History*, fo.598; *Papers Relative to Marriage*, 39-42; 'Danish Account', 107-20; Williams, *Anne of Denmark*, 31.

⁴⁹⁹ Burel, 'Poems'; *Papers Relative to Marriage*, v, vi.

⁵⁰⁰ Lynch, 'Court Ceremony', 86.

⁵⁰¹ 'Joyfull Receiving', 4-6; Moysie, *Memoirs*, 159; Birrell, 'Diary', fo.29r; Anderson, *History*, fo.243r; Johnston, *History*, fo.598; *Papers Relative to Marriage*, 39-42; 'Danish Account', 107-20; Williams, *Anne of Denmark*, 31.

prince'.⁵⁰² The following day, at about 10 o'clock in the morning the queen and prince began their journey to London, again accompanied by the duke and some noblemen. Princess Elizabeth had been ill the night before, so she remained in Scotland until 3 June, and then 'followed her mother softlie'.⁵⁰³

Coronations

A coronation was, singularly, the most important royal ceremony, the only means by which a king, or queen, was officially invested as ruler of the kingdom. Therefore it is unfortunate that the spectacular coronation of an adult king was something rarely seen in Scotland, and certainly not in the sixteenth century when all Scottish rulers came to their thrones as children. Neither of the coronations that occurred in Scotland during the last third of the sixteenth century was that of an adult ruler. The first coronation, that of a one-year-old infant king, had several factors working against any spectacular displays. These were the crowning of a baby, a country caught in the turmoil of a deposed ruler, and a ministry caught in the rigidity of a newly-formed Protestant hierarchy, none of which encouraged a grand and elaborate affair. The second coronation, that of the king's consort, was a grand affair befitting the wife of an established king. Unfortunately, this occasion experienced its own difficulties, such as a nearly eight-month delay and a last-minute change of venue.

The coronation of the infant James occurred on 29 July 1567 at the parish church of the Holy Rude in Stirling, following a sermon by John Knox. It is generally said that the coronation was attended by few nobles, and indeed, only five earls and eight lords were noted as having attended: the earls of Morton, Athol, Glencairn, Mar, and Menteith, the master of Graham, Lords Home, Lindsay of the Byres, Ruthven, Crichton of Sanquhar, Sempill, Innermeath, Ochiltree, and St John, the bishop of Orkney, the commendators of Dunfermline, St Colme's Inch, Cambuskenneth, Dryburgh, and Culross, the treasurer, comptroller, secretary, justice clerk and commissioners from the major burghs, as well as others of the nobility, prelates,

⁵⁰² Calderwood, vi, 231.

⁵⁰³ Calderwood, vi, 232.

gentry, and commissioners.⁵⁰⁴ The earl of Morton (and according to one document, joined by Lord Home)⁵⁰⁵ took the oath for James that he should rule as a godly king and maintain the Protestant religion:

I....shall mainteine the trew religione of jesus christe, the preaching of his sacraments now receaved and practised within this realme, and shall abolishe and withsave all fals religione contrarie to the same ... And out of my landes and empyre I shall be cairful to route out all heretictes and enimies to the true worshipe of god.⁵⁰⁶

The oath having been taken, with the lords and whole estates present, the bishop anointed the king on the crown of the head, shoulder blades and palms of his hands saying certain prayers in Scots, not Latin. James was anointed with water rather than the traditional holy oil as it was considered unacceptable by the more extreme reformers. The child was then set on a throne with the royal robe put on him. The earl of Athol, according to some accounts,⁵⁰⁷ put the crown on the king's head and the sword and sceptre on each hand, each action accompanied by a prayer, again 'in the mother tongue'. However, it has been suggested that these 'sub-contemporary' accounts were incorrect and that the young king was crowned by the bishop of Orkney.⁵⁰⁸ Once the crowning was completed, a representative from each estate kissed his cheek and in name of the whole did homage and swore fealty to him. Finally the blessing was pronounced by the bishop and the ceremony ended when Sir John Bellenden, John Knox, and John Campbell of 'Kymacleuch' called for triumphs, fireworks, shooting of cannon, and feasting.⁵⁰⁹

The next coronation was decidedly different. Plans were made well in advance of the arrival of the queen. This in itself caused problems as inclement weather forced the queen's fleet to divert their course from Denmark to Scotland with an emergency landing in Norway which precipitated a 'rescue attempt' by the king and a visit of several months in the queen's home country. Although many of the preparations remained the same, some were changed (as was mentioned above in the

⁵⁰⁴ Coronations, fo.33r; GD.124/10/24 ('The Crowning, Inauguration and Ayth of King James the Sext 1567').

⁵⁰⁵ Adv MS 33.7.10, fo.15v.

⁵⁰⁶ Coronations, fo.34r; James VI, *True Law*, n53.

⁵⁰⁷ Coronations, fo.34r.

⁵⁰⁸ G. Donaldson, *Scottish Kings* (New York, 1992), 184, 185; Orkney is also mentioned as crowning the king in GD.124/10/24.

⁵⁰⁹ Full reports of the coronation can be found in Adv. MS 33.7.10, fos.15r-16r; Coronations, fos.32r-34v; GD.124/10/24; and Donaldson, *Scottish Kings*, 183-6.

Leith arrival), especially as James sent messengers to Scotland with new demands. Further problems arose when James was confronted with a powerful kirk ministry, unhappy not only with the combination of entry and coronation on a Sunday, but also with various aspects of the coronation itself.

In preparation for the arrival of his queen and the festivities surrounding her coronation, James sent a request to his wealthier subjects requesting assistance:

We must employ the goodwill of our loving subjects of best affection and ability... [therefore we] desire you to send hither to the help of the honourable charges to be made in this action such quantities of fatted beef and mutton on foot, wild fowls and venison...and deliver it to our master of our larder whom we have appointed to receive the same ...and give his ticket thereupon that we may particularly know the good will of all men and acknowledge it accordingly when time serves...
At Edinburgh, the penultimate day of August 1589... James R.⁵¹⁰

Although, as can be seen, these preparations were made when an earlier arrival of the queen was expected, James did not forget his intention that the aristocracy come to his aide. The August letter was followed by another, dated 11 May 1590, in which, with the queen's coronation quickly approaching, the royal household was in need of 'stuff and provision as you have already or is able to get according to our former letters and requests, and deliver the same.... to our master of household... upon the 18 day of May.'⁵¹¹ It would appear from that date that the coronation festivities lasted beyond the coronation itself and probably for several days following Anna's official entry into Edinburgh.

The coronation was performed by Protestant rites on Sunday, 17 May, at Holyrood Abbey. It was originally planned for the coronation and entry to take place together, utilising St Giles' for the coronation service, but it was thought by some of the clergy that the accompanying pageants and devises would profane the Sabbath day. Hence, the coronation service was moved to the abbey and the entry was pushed back two days, which upset the provost and burgesses of Edinburgh.⁵¹² This delay was not only troublesome to the organisers but it changed the focus and importance of

⁵¹⁰ Adv MS 20.5.7, fo.86.

⁵¹¹ Adv MS 20.5.7, fo.88r.

⁵¹² *CSP Scot.*, x, no.403.

the coronation. The separation of coronation and royal entry, it has been claimed, blurred the iconography of a marriage of the queen to both kingdom and capital.⁵¹³

Once problems were settled over the date and location of the coronation, more disputes arose, this time in relation to the act of anointing. Ministers of the kirk objected to the act, citing pagan custom, but James refused to bow to such pressures, instead claiming that anointing with holy oil dated from the Old Testament and was thus quite acceptable. He also threatened that if the ministers would not perform the rite he would call upon a bishop. In order to calm the fears of the townspeople, they were informed that the significance of the anointing was civil, rather than ecclesiastical, and thus of no threat to the Scottish kirk.⁵¹⁴

Anointing with holy oil was certainly an important part of the consecration of English kings. At the 1547 coronation of England's Edward VI, not only was the king anointed with oil upon the palms of his hands, on his breast, between his shoulders, in the joints of his arms, and on the crown of his head, but there was so much oil that the excess had to be lightly wiped away.⁵¹⁵ Holy oil was also used at the English coronation on 25 July 1603 of James and Anna. James was anointed in the same places mentioned above while Anna had oil poured on the crown of her head and on her breast.⁵¹⁶ James was quite right in his insistence upon anointment with oil. If Protestant England could use holy oil, so should Protestant Scotland.

Before the coronation ceremony began there was a separate ceremony for the belting of several newly created knights. Apart from the 15 knights belted that day, James created his chancellor, Sir John Maitland of Thirlestane, a lord of the parliament of Scotland and gave him the title of lord and free baron of Thirlestane. For this occasion, Maitland was arrayed in a red robe and brought to the pre-ceremony with two knights escorting him on each side.⁵¹⁷

The coronation procession, from the palace apartments to the abbey kirk, was started by the king's guard and a few trumpeters whose job it was to push the crowds out of the king's way. They were followed by the principal servants of the king's household and the knights and barons of the principal houses of Scotland. Next

⁵¹³ Lynch, 'Court Ceremony', 83-4.

⁵¹⁴ Williams, *Anne of Denmark*, 29; *CSP Scot.*, x, no.404.

⁵¹⁵ Coronations, fos.48r-50v.

⁵¹⁶ Coronations, fos.52v-53r.

⁵¹⁷ GD.124/10/61/1, 'The form and maner of the corronation of Anna the Quenis Majestie of Scotland after her arryving within this countrie 1590 from denmark'.

processed the magistrates of Edinburgh and the other principal burghs who in turn were followed by the privy councillors and the senators of the College of Justice. These groups all moved into the kirk and took the places appointed for them. Then the heralds, dressed in their yellow coats emblazoned with a red lion rampant and wearing gold chains entwined with red lions, entered the kirk along with their superior, the Lyon King of Arms. Following Lord Lyon was Andrew, Lord Dingwall, who was there as depute to the Earl Marischal, and Alexander Lindsay, vice-chamberlain of Scotland. Next came the Honours of Scotland: the sword of honour carried by the earl of Angus; the sceptre carried by Lord Hamilton, who was taking the place of his 'sickly' brother, the earl of Arran; and the crown carried by the duke of Lennox, great chamberlain of Scotland. Finally entered the king, whose royal robes of purple velvet and ermine were lifted by the earls of Athol, Montrose, Moray and Mar. The earls were followed by Lords Seton, Herries, Livingston and Ogilvy.

The queen's procession began once the king had taken his appointed seat on a dais in the kirk gallery. As with the king's procession, the first to lead the queen to the kirk were trumpeters (of course, the king's guard had already cleared away the 'multitude'), followed by several noblemen of Denmark, magnificently clothed with diamond-studded chains hung about their necks. These are undoubtedly the chains, made by goldsmith Thomas Foulis and valued at £1,500, that were given to the Danish admiral and noblemen by the king.⁵¹⁸ The Danes, in turn, were followed by a number of Scottish noblemen, then two heralds and finally Lord Lyon, who apparently was doing double duty.

John, Lord Thirlestane entered with the queen's crown matrimonial carried between his hands. The crown, weighing just over 250 ounces, was decorated with a 'verie large blewe saphyre, one greate pointed diamond, one faire rock ruby', one emerald, eight smaller 'rock' rubies, and 24 small round pearls around its circumference. Over the top of the circlet were eight 'table' diamonds, 16 small round pearls, and roses created from small rubies. The ball on the top was made of 27 small rounded pearls, the cross with a 'table' ruby and five 'table' diamonds with four small round pearls.⁵¹⁹ The queen followed Thirlestane, escorted on her right hand by Robert Bowes, ambassador of England, and on her left by Admiral Peder Munk with

⁵¹⁸ Williams, *Anne of Denmark*, 30; E.21/67, fo.202r; *Papers Relative to Marriage*, appendix ii.

⁵¹⁹ Adv MS 31.1.10, fo.16, no.153.

Steen Brahe and Breide Rantzau, ambassadors of Denmark, to her seat next to the king. Following the queen were Robert Bowes' wife, the dowager countess of Mar, and the countesses of Bothwell and Orkney who carried the long train of the queen's gown. They were followed by Ladies Seton, Thirlestane and Auchnoull as well as the queen's maidens, 'certain noble virgins' Cathrine Schinckel and Sophia Kaas, who had travelled with the queen from Denmark.

Anna's coronation robe was made of purple velvet lined with white Spanish taffeta, decorated with a narrow gold braid around the neck, a large gold button, double gold braid (likely used as edging), and sewn together with purple, white and yellow silk. The robe was lined in fur, probably ermine, although the accounts do not say. White Spanish taffeta lined her gown and provided the material, along with white Florentine ribbons, for the queen's stomacher.⁵²⁰

New liveries for the coronation had been given to Anna's two pages and two lackeys. Her pages were dressed in crimson satin cloaks, doublets and breeches. Additional decorations included yellow taffeta on the breasts of the cloaks, grey shoulders on the doublets, yellow and red ribbons on the knees of the breeches and gold buttons on all three. The lackeys were dressed similarly in crimson Spanish taffeta jupes and breeches also with gold buttons and yellow and red ribbons on their knees. The four trumpeters wore crimson satin doublets and breeches, with velvet belts, woven socks, French hats with strings and cloaks of scarlet braided English cloth. From their trumpets hung crimson and yellow silk strings along with banners of crimson and yellow Spanish taffeta, painted with the king's and queen's arms and fringed with crimson and yellow silk.⁵²¹ The king's ministers and household officers were not ignored; all were given generous allowances to buy new clothes for the ceremony. These payments included £200 to the master household, £133 6s 8d to the master stabler, the same to the master of works, £100 to the master porter, £266 13s 4d to be divided amongst the three valets of the king's chamber, and £200 to be divided between three Hudson violers.⁵²²

Following the singing of Psalms xl and xlviii, Patrick Galloway gave a sermon based upon Psalm xlv. This ended, the duke, Hamilton, Robert Bruce and David

⁵²⁰ E.21/67, fos.199r & 199v; *Papers Relative to Marriage*, appendix ii.

⁵²¹ E.21/67, fos.165v, 201r; *Papers Relative to Marriage*, appendix ii.

⁵²² E.21/67, fo.202v; *Papers Relative to Marriage*, appendix ii.

Lindsay obtained the king's directions to proceed with the coronation. Once the directions were stated, the countess of Mar went to the queen, folding back a portion of cloth from her right arm and the neck of her gown. Bruce then poured 'a good quantity of oil' upon her exposed breast and arm, following which Anna, escorted by the duke, Hamilton and the two Danish maidens, retired for a short time to a cabinet off the abbey where she was dressed in a purple velvet coronation robe.

Upon Anna's return the crown was delivered, by the king's command, into the hands of the duke and placed on the queen's head by the chancellor, after which the earl of Angus presented the sword of honour. Bruce, by authority of the king and his estates, delivered the sceptre to Anna and acknowledged her to be Scotland's sovereign queen, which was repeated in French for Anna's benefit. Then, touching the bible with her right hand, the queen gave her oath to support and defend the Protestant religion of Scotland. Once the prayers were ended, the heralds cried 'God Save the Queen' and were answered by the whole people crying 'God Save her Majesty', to the sound of trumpets.

The newly crowned queen then sat through a speech by Andrew Melville followed by a short narration from Bruce on the benefits of a Protestant king and a queen to assist him. This finished, the duke and Lord Hamilton, Bruce and Lindsay, the provosts of Edinburgh and Dundee, and the lairds of Parbroath and Ormiston, as representatives of their estates, came before the queen where they knelt, joined their hands and swore their homage and fidelity to Anna. The chancellor requested the remaining noblemen and estates consent to the homage and fealty by the clapping of hands, which was done. The coronation ended with a prayer by Patrick Galloway. The king and queen returned to their chambers in the same form and order in which they had processed to the kirk. The Lord Chancellor, carrying the sceptre, preceded the queen, whose crown still rested firmly upon her head. The ceremony lasted seven hours, from 10 in the morning until five in the evening.⁵²³

As can be seen, the coronation was a rich and sumptuous occasion. There are several similarities between Anna's coronation and that of England's Edward VI in February 1547, which followed the ancient form for the consecration of English kings. It is unclear whether James and Anna, like Edward VI, processed along a path

⁵²³ GD.124/10/61/1; 'Danish Account', 104-7; Williams, *Anne of Denmark*, 29-31; *Papers Relative to Marriage*, 39; Johnston, *History*, fos.597v-98r; Calderwood, v, 95.

covered in blue cloth. It was stated that James wore a purple velvet robe lined with ermine and a matching gown underneath. This could have been similar to Edward VI's purple velvet robe with an ermine-trimmed long train and an inner gown, also of purple velvet, fringed with gold and lined with mink fur. Another similarity was the presence of ambassadors. In Edward VI's coronation, both his comptroller and treasurer processed into the ceremony in the company of a Scottish ambassador, just as Anna was escorted into the church by the English ambassador. Before his anointing, Edward was taken to a traverse where he changed into different garments for the anointing itself then returned afterwards to be revested with his royal robes. Much of the form of the ceremony was similar to both James's and Anna's coronations, although Edward was offered three different crowns. At the end of the ceremony, the ancient crown of England and the other royal ornaments were laid upon the altar although Edward retained the crown made specifically for his coronation.⁵²⁴

Extant Scottish accounts do include some descriptions of the preparations for the coronation and the banquet that followed. Decorations for the festivities included a white taffeta cloth for the king's table at the banquet. The king's *tapisier* appears to have been busy, making cushions and coverings for chairs and stools. These were made of crimson, green and white velvet and fringed in gold or silver. Tablecloths of braided scarlet cloth and green cloth were also made, as were curtains of red and green stemming for the windows in both the kirk and palace.⁵²⁵ It must be remembered that the original plans had been for a ceremony held at St Giles' as a part of the festivities surrounding the queen's entry and therefore paid for by the burgh. Thus much of what was prepared for the coronation ceremony itself, at the abbey of Holyrood, would have been organized at the last moment.

Although a coronation is a solemn event, it is also the purest form of majestic display, a reaffirmation of the rights of the king and queen to rule a country. The ideal situation would have been the original plan of a combined entry and coronation. This would have combined pageantry and splendour, which could be observed by many, with the traditional, and sacred, solemnity which reinforced the ideals of kingship. As such, Anna's coronation should have been similar to the 1603 London coronation ceremony when the king and queen made a triumphant procession through

⁵²⁴ Coronations, fos.48r-50v.

⁵²⁵ E.21/67, fos.199r-v, 201r; *Papers Relative to Marriage*, appendix ii.

the town on the way to Westminster. Instead, the events were placed on different days and in different locations. Perhaps it was not the magnificent spectacle that was originally planned, but every attempt would have been made to make it as stunning and powerful a ceremony as humanly possible.

Baptisms

A baptism was one of the most spectacular royal event; a joyful and sumptuous occasion. James himself had been the subject of a triumphant baptismal celebration planned by his mother, Mary, queen of Scots, in December 1566.⁵²⁶ The primary difference between James's own baptism and those of his children was that his was a Catholic ceremony. As recent work has been done on the imagery and political importance of the celebrations associated with royal baptisms, the focus of the following section is the procession of the actual events and the mundane actions and costs associated with them.

Even though a Catholic ceremony, the basics of James's baptism were very similar to those of his sons Henry and Charles. James was carried out of his chamber in Stirling Castle by the count of Brienne, the ambassador to James's primary godfather, the king of France. Following Brienne to the royal chapel were the queen of England's female representative, the countess of Argyll, and a representative for the duke of Savoy. A velvet canopy would have been held over the young prince while he was carried through the ranks of the Scottish nobility, all holding wax candles.⁵²⁷ James was received by the bishop of St Andrews and baptised in a font of gold, a gift from Elizabeth that weighed 330 ounces,⁵²⁸ and named Charles James, in honour of Mary's cousin Charles IX of France and the great Charlemagne.⁵²⁹ Neither the Protestant nobles nor the English ambassador, the earl of Bedford, would enter the chapel because the service was conducted 'against the points of their religion'. The ceremony ended, they passed to supper in the great hall where the queen awaited

⁵²⁶ For more information see M. Lynch, 'Queen Mary's Triumph: the Baptismal Celebrations at Stirling in December 1566', *SHR*, lxix (1990), 1-21; Lynch, 'Court Ceremony', 71-92.

⁵²⁷ The ceremony occurred in the afternoon, in December, when darkness falls early thus candles held by the nobility would have been a convenient, if not impressive, source of light.

⁵²⁸ Adv. MS 31.6.10, fo.3r.

⁵²⁹ Lynch, 'Queen Mary's Triumph', 6.

them. King Henry, residing at the time in Stirling, was not present for the festivities.⁵³⁰

The first royal baptism of James's reign was that of his son Henry who had been born at Stirling Castle in the early morning hours on 19 February 1594. A volley was shot by 12 cannons from Edinburgh Castle at noon that day to announce the happy news, while the people of Scotland rejoiced with dancing, music and the bonfires.⁵³¹ Henry, being a male heir to the throne, was to be given an extremely elaborate baptism, rather along the lines of that of his own father. It was also to be Scotland's first royal christening by Protestant rites.⁵³² Thankfully, William Fowler's account of the baptismal celebrations has provided historians and literary scholars with a very clear picture of the events.⁵³³

Plans for the baptism had been in the making since mid-December 1593.⁵³⁴ Despite worries that Stirling had inadequate resources to properly lodge and entertain the visiting dignitaries, James insisted upon the baptism being held there, probably because of strong connections to the town through his own childhood and baptism and coronation.⁵³⁵ In early May, the laird of Easter Weymss and Edward Bruce, commendator of Kinloss, were sent as ambassadors to Elizabeth's court in England to deliver invitations to the baptismal celebrations. Bruce returned with the queen's answer while Weymss continued onwards to the French court. Peter Young of Seton was directed to deliver invitations to the Danish court as well as to Anna's brother-in-law, Duke Henry of Brunswick, and her grandfather, Duke Ulric of Mecklenburg. Sir William Keith and Mr William Murray were directed to the Low Countries, thereby completing the invitations.⁵³⁶

In the meantime preparations went ahead. It was decided that the chapel royal in Stirling Castle was too small for a large-scale christening. Thus, in June 1594, it was torn down and rebuilt for the occasion, as were other houses and parts of the castle. James sent a request to Thomas Foulis, at that time in London, directing him to purchase, and send immediately to Scotland, 1,000 stone weight of lead and an

⁵³⁰ Johnston, *History*, fos.386v-387r.

⁵³¹ Johnston, *History*, fo.619v; Calderwood, v, 293.

⁵³² Williams, *Anne of Denmark*, 48.

⁵³³ Fowler, 'True Reportaire'.

⁵³⁴ Moysie, *Memoirs*, 111-12.

⁵³⁵ Moysie, *Memoirs*, 117-18, 163; Williams, *Anne of Denmark*, 48; Johnston, *History*, fo.620v.

⁵³⁶ Johnston, *History*, fo.620r; Moysie, *Memoirs*, 117-18.

unspecified amount of alabaster that was needed for the decoration and completion of the work at Stirling.⁵³⁷ Construction work encompassed more than the rebuilding of the chapel royal. Five timber beds, with ironwork, were made for the king's chambers at the castle during the baptism for a cost of £100.⁵³⁸ Other assorted expenses included 30 ells of green frieze used to cover stools and 'furmes' in the castle.⁵³⁹

Messengers were sent to all parts of Scotland to request necessary items, mainly wild meats such as venison, for the festivities, and issuing invitations to Scotland's noblemen to be present in Stirling on 15 August.⁵⁴⁰ A secondary account claims that James was 'so poor and his plate so scanty' that along with his invitation Sir Walter Dundas was requested to bring 'his silver spoons'.⁵⁴¹ Most of the king's long-term domestics were also to be invited to the festivities, and needed to be outfitted appropriately. James's old mistress nurse, Helen Little, and her daughters Grissell and Sara Gray were allocated the princely amount of £666 13s 4d for clothes for the prince's baptism. David Moysie, deputy to the king's secretary, was given £200 as was John Gray, keeper of the lion. The master of the king's baggage, William Murray, was given a lesser amount of £133 6s 8d.⁵⁴²

Although the banquet festivities following the solemnization of the baptism were extremely elaborate, very few records exist of the payments and materials used, with the exception of the king's lion. As a traditional symbol of royalty, James wished to incorporate his trained lion into the events. The keeper of the lion was to have worn a grey cloak, coat, breeches and socks if plans had not been adjusted, removing the lion from the proposed festivities for fear it would frighten the guests. Transportation for the lion did not come cheap, as expenses for the men and horses transporting the lion from Holyroodhouse to Stirling and back again amounted to £262 16s 4d.⁵⁴³ In the end, however, it was decided not to use him as his appearance

⁵³⁷ *MW*, i, 314; Moysie, *Memoirs*, 117-18, 163; Williams, *Anne of Denmark*, 48; Johnston, *History*, fo.620v.

⁵³⁸ E.21/70, fo.115r.

⁵³⁹ E.21/70, fo.120r.

⁵⁴⁰ Johnston, *History*, fos.620v, 621r; Moysie, *Memoirs*, 117-18.

⁵⁴¹ Williams, *Anne of Denmark*, 48.

⁵⁴² E.21/70, fos.106v, 111r, 115r.

⁵⁴³ E.21/70, fos.120r, 120v.

‘might have brought some feare, to the neerest, or that the sight of the lights and torches might have commoved his tamenes’.⁵⁴⁴

On 22 August, the ambassadors of the king of Denmark, the queen mother, and the dukes of Brunswick and Mecklenburg, having arrived in Leith on 12 July, proceeded to Stirling where they were honourably received by the king and queen.⁵⁴⁵ The next day, 100 of Edinburgh’s youths, dressed in armour, travelled to Stirling where they were to act as king’s guard during the prince’s baptism.⁵⁴⁶ They were followed several days later by Queen Elizabeth’s ambassador, the earl of Sussex. The earl of Cumberland had been the queen’s original choice but his sudden illness necessitated a replacement. Sussex, with an entourage of 120 horses, arrived in Edinburgh on 27 August and spent a night in Nicoll Uddart’s home before passing to Stirling in the morning.⁵⁴⁷ A study of baptisms in England has shown that people often delayed their child’s baptism due to the late arrival of the chosen godparents, showing that even for the common people, the choice of a godparent was very important.⁵⁴⁸

After a delay of several days, caused by the late arrival of the earl of Sussex, the baptism was solemnized in Stirling’s newly rebuilt chapel royal, decorated with cloth of gold and yellow velvet, on 30 August 1594. Henry, dressed in a white wool gown, made from 23 ells of fabric, beneath a pearl-embroidered purple velvet christening robe, was carried into the chapel by Sussex. A crimson velvet canopy, decorated with gold, was carried above the prince by the lairds of Buccleuch, Cessford, Traquair and the constable of Dundee. They, in turn, were followed by the dowager countess of Mar, the mistress nurse and ladies of honour, and the remaining ambassadors and estates, walking along a procession route lined by the 100 hackbutterers of Edinburgh. The laver, basin, towel and small diamond-set crown were carried by Lords Sempill, Seton, Livingston and Home, respectively, to the table set before the presiding ministers. Following the sacrament of baptism, read in both Scots and Latin, and the pronouncing of his name ‘Frederick Henry, Henry Frederick’, the assembled company moved to the King’s Hall. Here, he was

⁵⁴⁴ Carpenter, ‘Drama’, 202; Purser, *Scotland’s Music*, 117; Mill, *Mediaeval Plays*, 50.

⁵⁴⁵ Johnston, *History*, fo.621r.

⁵⁴⁶ Calderwood, v, 342-3.

⁵⁴⁷ Johnston, *History*, fo.621r.

⁵⁴⁸ D. Cressy, *Birth, Marriage & Death: Ritual, Religion, and the Life-Cycle in Tudor and Stuart England* (Oxford, 1997), 103-4.

presented to his father who knighted him and placed the small crown on his head; the earl of Mar, the prince's guardian, touched the spur to his cheek. Henry was officially proclaimed baron of Renfrew, lord of Islay, earl of Carrick, duke of Rothesay, Prince and Great Stewart of Scotland.⁵⁴⁹

Anna herself took no part in the sacramental baptismal proceedings, and the king's role was almost non-existent, apart from the knighting. In non-royal baptisms, tradition had dictated that the parent's only role was to appoint the godparents and contact the minister. The father had more of a role as 'principal governor' of his household while the mother, in most circumstances, was still at home in her 'lying in' period.⁵⁵⁰ Especially in the case of Henry's baptism, many months after his birth, Anna could have been present, but it would appear that she followed convention with non-appearance. Her appearance at the baptism of her other children, with the exception of their baptismal banquets, is never noted.

The banquet following the sacrament of baptism was an exceedingly elaborate affair that commenced at approximately eight o'clock in the evening. Dessert was brought into the hall by a chariot pulled by a Moor and presented by Ceres, Facundia, Faith, Concord, Liberality and Perseverance. This chariot was originally to have been pulled by the lion but it was decided that a lion might frighten the guests.⁵⁵¹ Following their departure, a great ship led by Neptune, Theis and Triton entered on a fake sea. The ship (the dimensions were 18 feet long, eight feet wide, and 14 feet high), piloted by a man dressed in cloth of gold and carrying a number of musicians, was decorated with red masts, white taffeta sails, and 35 pieces of brass ordinance. Crabs, clams, lobsters, limpets, whiting and flukes made of sugar were distributed to the guests in crystal glass 'curiously paintit with gold and azure'. The ship then receded, shooting her ordinance along the way and signalling the end of the banquet, the festivities having lasted until three o'clock in the morning.⁵⁵²

Surrounding the actual baptism and the banquet were days of entertainments and activities, which included dances, masques, and chivalric activities such as

⁵⁴⁹ Williams, *Anne of Denmark*, 49; Johnston, *History*, fos.621r-22v; Calderwood, v, 343-4; Moysie, *Memoirs*, 118-19.

⁵⁵⁰ Cressy, *Birth, Marriage & Death*, 149-50.

⁵⁵¹ Mill, *Mediaeval Plays*, 50.

⁵⁵² Johnston, *History*, fos.621r-22v; Calderwood, v, 345-6; Williams, *Anne of Denmark*, 50; see also Sir J. Fergusson of Kilkerran, *The White Hind and other discoveries* (London, 1963), chapter 6: 'A Ship of State', 84-94; Lynch, 'Court Ceremony', 71-92.

running at the ring. The festivities commenced with a tilting tournament comprising four sets of knights: Turks, Moors, Amazons and Knights of Malta. It was reported that the abbot of Holyrood, dressed in women's clothes, took up the ring several times, whilst other competitors included Lord Home dressed as a Turk and the king dressed as a Crusader. The Moors, apparently, failed to appear. It has been suggested that the tournament was straightforward copy of the English Accession Day tilts, 'where a Protestant ethic was grafted on to a revived tradition of Burgundian chivalry'.⁵⁵³

After the festivities of the baptism ended, those involved soon began their journeys homeward. To greet the queen's return to Edinburgh, the castle saluted her, and her train of 60 to 80 horses, with seven rounds of cannon fire. James received nine rounds of fire on his return to Holyroodhouse on August 6. The departing ambassadors also were hailed by cannon fire on their returns: the Danes by sea on 10 August, the English by land on 12 August, and the Estates, also by land for fear of the Spanish Navy, on 16 August. It was said that all of the visiting ambassadors had been sumptuously entertained at the king's expense.⁵⁵⁴ Indeed, they left with departing gifts of valuable gold chains.⁵⁵⁵ They also left many elaborate baptismal gifts including 'a cupboard of silver overgilt, cunningly wrought' along with massive gold cups from Elizabeth, gold chains for both Anna and Henry from Christian IV, and a yearly gift of 5,000 guilders, along with a number of large gold cups worth £124,000, from the Dutch ambassador.⁵⁵⁶ Melville commented that the gifts should have been stored 'for posterity' rather than being melted and disposed as they were.⁵⁵⁷ It is highly unlikely that the king provided all of the funds to entertain the dignitaries. As will be seen in the next chapter, James was highly adept at encouraging his burghs to fund his court activities, especially those burghs with foreign trade connections.

The second royal child, Princess Elizabeth, was born in Dunfermline on 19 September 1596.⁵⁵⁸ The situation surrounding her baptism was very different as not only was she a girl, and not the heir, but the country could not afford another

⁵⁵³ Calderwood, v, 346; Lynch, 'Court Ceremony', 89.

⁵⁵⁴ Calderwood, v, 346; Johnston, *History*, fos.622v, 623r.

⁵⁵⁵ Moysie, *Memoirs*, 119.

⁵⁵⁶ Williams, *Anne of Denmark*, 50; Anderson, *History*, fo.269; Moysie, *Memoirs*, 118-19.

⁵⁵⁷ Williams, *Anne of Denmark*, 50; Melville, *Memoirs*, 370.

⁵⁵⁸ Moysie, *Memoirs*, 164; Johnston, *History*, fo.626v.

elaborate baptism. Unfortunately, she was born during the financially tight reign of the Octavians.

Elizabeth, named in honour of the English queen, had her namesake as godmother, along with the town council of Edinburgh and the duke of Lennox, at her baptism, which took place in the chapel at Holyroodhouse on 28 November. It was a very small affair for which no foreign invitations were issued, with the exception of England. Even the Scottish nobility were in short supply as it was the winter season and a number of them were safely ensconced at their estates.⁵⁵⁹ The Octavians suggested her baptism be postponed so that it could be celebrated along with her mother's birthday; this did not occur, likely because, as Robert Bowes reported, 'this union of feasts smells more of niggardly husbandry than of honourable order'.⁵⁶⁰

Bowes had been sent by Queen Elizabeth as her ambassador for the baptism, and as such he held the child during the ceremony at which she was proclaimed 'Lady Elizabeth, the first daughter of Scotland' by the Lyon Herald. Unlike the grand affair of Henry's baptism, Elizabeth's was a subdued occasion, devoid of any triumphs, outdoor processions or any other sort of public entertainment.⁵⁶¹ Nevertheless, there was 'good fare and cheer' and a baptismal banquet consisting of large quantities of wild meat and venison. 'Violers and taborers played, lackeys had new scarlet cloth liveries, and guests brought presents'. No gift arrived from Queen Elizabeth although the council of Edinburgh gave an ornate casket containing a promise to the princess of 100,000 merks when she married.⁵⁶²

Accounts do provide some insight into the preparations for Elizabeth's baptism. As mentioned above, new liveries were made for the royal pages, lackeys, trumpeters and others. These consisted of red scarlet London cloth cloaks, coats and breeches for the nine pages, bordered in yellow velvet and lined with red and yellow frieze and closed by red silk buttons. Their doublets were of fustian and grey cloth with red silk decorations and buttons. They were each given a pair of red worsted stockings, wool socks with silk decorations at the top, silk garters, and crimson velvet hats lined with taffeta and with crape strings. The eight lackeys had similar outfits but

⁵⁵⁹ Johnston, *History*, fo.626v; Calderwood, v, 438-39.

⁵⁶⁰ Lee, *Solomon*, 135; Lynch, 'Court Ceremony', 91.

⁵⁶¹ Marshall, *Winter Queen*, 18.

⁵⁶² Marshall, *Winter Queen*, 19; Moysie, *Memoir*, 127; J. Spottiswood, *The History of the Church and State of Scotland* (London, 1677), 424; Johnston, *History*, fo.627r; E.21/71, fo.94r.

with the addition of mantles, of an unspecified material and colour, containing long yellow buttons. And rather than red hats, the lackeys were given black velvet taffeta-lined bonnets. The king's three pages of honour had separate liveries of filemot-coloured velvet coats and similarly coloured satin doublets, both with gold buttons. Their cloaks were of brown London cloth, lined with filemot velvet, and decorated with 'clinkand' gold drops. Silk hose, velvet belts, garters and velvet-lined hats completed their outfits. The queen's two pages of honour wore violet velvet cloaks and orange satin doublets, both lined with blue Spanish taffeta and decorated with gold buttons and drops. They also were given silk hose, velvet belts, garters and velvet-lined hats. In the case of the king's two trumpeters, they wore blood-red satin doublets lined with blue taffeta, scarlet London cloth cloaks lined in blood-red velvet and fringed in gold, and blood-red velvet breeches. Crimson velvet and yellow crape strings were used for their hats. Their trumpets and banners were decorated as during the queen's coronation: red and yellow banners and strings.⁵⁶³

Elizabeth's mistress nurse and rockers were also given special clothes. With the colourful outfits parading in as pages, lackeys and trumpeters, it is no wonder that the ladies who looked after the young princess had decidedly more subdued gowns. The mistress nurse's gown was of black silk with black figured-velvet sleeves and decorated with braided velvet. The two rockers had black velvet and grosgrain gowns.⁵⁶⁴ Although the clothing worn by James and Anna is not recorded, the king did have a new pair of gilded spurs made for the occasion,⁵⁶⁵ and it cannot be assumed that Anna was even present at the baptism.

The second daughter of James and Anna was born on Christmas Eve 1598 at Dalkeith Palace. Her birth was a likely contribution to the 'great feasting and pastimes' experienced at court that Christmas, which caused great offence to many, especially the stricter amongst the ministers.⁵⁶⁶ Her baptism, like Elizabeth's, took place in Holyroodhouse, on 15 April 1599. David Lindsay was the presiding minister with the earls of Montrose and Huntly and Lord Hamilton standing as witnesses. Hamilton and Huntly were raised to the honour and dignity of marquises at the festivities, while the king's secretary and master stabler, Sir James Elphinstone of

⁵⁶³ E.21/71, fos.84v-88r.

⁵⁶⁴ E.21/71, fo.88v.

⁵⁶⁵ E.21/71, fo.98r.

⁵⁶⁶ Calderwood, v, 728.

Barnton and Sir David Murray of Gospertie, respectively, were knighted, along with seven others. Another important guest was Anna's brother, the duke of Holstein, who was on an extended visit to Scotland. The baptism was followed by two days of feasting, dancing and running at the ring.⁵⁶⁷

A glazier was hired to repair windows in Holyroodhouse in April 1599, undoubtedly related to preparations for the baptism.⁵⁶⁸ Clothing worth £400 was made by one of the royal tailors for gowns for Princesses Elizabeth and Margaret although details of the gowns are not noted.⁵⁶⁹ Unfortunately, the treasurer's accounts covering this period are unavailable and therefore any preparations made before Margaret's baptism are unknown.

James and Anna's second son, Charles, the future king of England, was born in Dunfermline on 19 November 1600. Although the cannons were fired in celebration, it was also the day that the carcasses of the earl of Gowrie and his brother were dismembered, their heads displayed in Edinburgh, their legs and arms around Perth.⁵⁷⁰ Charles was an extremely weak and sickly child thus it was decided his baptism should occur soon after his birth.

Preparations for his baptism included the by now familiar letter to the nobility for assistance. In this case James sent a letter to Sir Walter Dundas of Dundas inviting him to the baptism at Holyroodhouse, at which select Scottish nobility and some visitors from the 'Princess of France' were to be present. James's letter, most importantly, noted the need for necessary decorations, and as one of the 'specials' invited to the baptism, Dundas was requested to 'propyne' the king with venison, wild meat, Brissel fowls, capons and any other seasonal provisions, all of which were to be sent to Holyroodhouse by 20 December.⁵⁷¹ The queen's litter also needed reparations to carry both her and the infant prince from Dunfermline to Holyroodhouse.⁵⁷² Further expenditures included the making and decoration of a 'chapel bed' and 'tolheid cloth' for the queen, a process which lasted eight weeks, including evenings. Four velvet chairs with cushions, two 'kirk' cushions and two tablecloths were also

⁵⁶⁷ Spottiswood, *History*, 455; Sir W. Sanderson, *A Compleat History*, 219; Calderwood, v, 736; *CSP Scot.*, xiii, no.363.

⁵⁶⁸ E.21/73, fo.40r.

⁵⁶⁹ E.21/73, fo.46v.

⁵⁷⁰ Calderwood, vi, 100.

⁵⁷¹ Dundas Papers, fo.7.

⁵⁷² E.21/74, fo.90v.

prepared for the king. Eight royal pages were given new liveries of scarlet cloth with yellow velvet, yellow frieze and yellow Spanish taffeta, as were nine lackeys. More importantly, the master wright was paid £1,307 18s 10*d* for repairs made to the Palace of Holyroodhouse, namely the stables, the wall under the master of works's chamber, mending of various back passages and repairing the kitchen tables, 'the time of the duke of Albany's baptism'.⁵⁷³

On Tuesday, 20 December, the king processed from his chamber in Holyroodhouse to the chapel, led by Lord Lyon, acting as master of ceremonies, with the heralds, pursuivants and trumpeters. The procession then moved to the queen's chamber, where they were met by Monsieur de Rohan, a nobleman of Brittany, who carried in his arms the young prince covered with cloth of gold and lawn, while over their heads was a gold and silver canopy supported by six Scottish knights. Surrounding de Rohan and the infant were Monsieur de Sibbois (de Rohan's brother), the marquis of Huntly, and Lord Livingston who followed behind with Charles's royal robe of purple velvet. The ducal crown, laver and towel, and basin were carried before the prince by the Lords President, Spynie and Roxburgh, respectively. Behind the noblemen followed the dames of honour, namely the marchioness of Huntly and the countess of Mar. In this order, they processed to the north side of the chapel where Charles was placed. There was no mention of Anna joining the procession.

The prince was held, within the canopy, throughout the sermon by the marchioness of Huntly. To the east of the canopy were placed two crimson velvet chairs for the French brothers, taking part in the ceremony as godfathers, who sat beneath the king. On the west side sat the members of the privy council. On the south side sat Lords President, Livingston, Spynie, Roxburgh and others, along with the Frenchmen's servants. De Rohan carried the child to the pulpit, followed by the king and noblemen, where he was baptised by the bishop of Ross. After the psalm was sung and the blessings said, Lord Lyon proclaimed him 'My Lord Charles of Scotland, Duke of Albany, Marquis of Ormond, Earl of Ross, Lord Ardmannoch'. These were then repeated by the Dingwall Pursuivant out the west window of the chapel, the Islay Herald cast out 100 merks of silver to the poor, the trumpets sounded

⁵⁷³ E.21/74, fos.85v, 86r, 87v, 89r, 108v.

and the castle shot nine rounds of fire.⁵⁷⁴ The solemnities over, the king passed to the upper hall where he joined the queen for a magnificent supper and entertainment.

The final child born in Scotland was Robert, marquis of Wigtown, who was born in Dunfermline on Monday, 18 January 1602. His baptism was to have taken place on the first Sunday of March in Holyroodhouse, if Edinburgh proved free of the plague. If not, the baptism was to be at Dunfermline where the queen was located. Robert's godfathers were to be the marquis of Huntly, the earl of Argyll and the duc de Nevers, if the later arrived from England in time, although 'the wiser sort rather wish the christening ended before he come lest he should see our proud poverty'.⁵⁷⁵

As it happened, the baptism occurred in Dunfermline where Robert was carried to the kirk on a purple velvet pillow. His mistress nurse wore a new taffeta gown with a black velvet hood, and his mistress rocker a Florentine serge gown and cloak. Other expenditures included new clothes for Princes Henry and Charles, who seem to have been present for the baptism, along with the costs of transporting the clothes to Dunfermline, a pouch in which to carry the ducal crown and sceptre to Dunfermline, and powder to be shot from Edinburgh Castle at the time of the baptism. New clothes were also made for the king's valets, pages and favoured servitors. A large amount of money, £1,015, was spent on purple, tawny, 'sad gray', blue and black velvet to make five countercloths, cover five chairs and be five cushions. A separate countercloth, chair and cushion of green velvet were made for Prince Henry. Some form of banqueting and celebrations were planned. Dunfermline's great hall, the likely site for a banquet, required £103 5s for a red English broadcloth tablecloth, £194 13s 4d was spent on timber for the baptism, and an Edinburgh merchant provided a silver plate and spoon for Robert's use. One event that was a part of the baptism festivities was the running of the ring. The treasurer's accounts included a payment to a Dunfermline man for damage sustained to his corn during just such an activity.⁵⁷⁶ Sadly, Robert did not live past the age of five months; he died on 27 May 1602. His body was secretly transported in a coffin to Holyroodhouse. Calderwood stated that Doctor Hereis 'gott cold thankes for his cure'.⁵⁷⁷

⁵⁷⁴ Adv. MS 34.6.24, fos.101r-102v; Birrell, 'Diary', fo.35v; E.21/74, fo.90r.

⁵⁷⁵ *CSP Scot.*, xiii, no. 788.

⁵⁷⁶ E.21/ 76, fos.122r, 122v, 123v-124v, 132r-134v, 142v.

⁵⁷⁷ Calderwood, vi, 143, 151.

Funerals

Baptisms were happy occasions at which the royal family could gather and celebrate the birth of another child. At the opposite end of the spectrum were the funerals that invariably occurred. Sadly, not all of James and Anna's children survived infancy, although the child frequently described as the most sickly, Charles, did indeed survive to adulthood, only to lose his head on the block. Princess Elizabeth not only married, produced several children and lived until 1662, but it is through her line that Britain's current monarch descended. Henry appears to have been a healthy, sturdy, active young man throughout his years in Scotland. Sadly, he died of typhoid fever at the age of 18.

The two children who died in infancy in Scotland were Princess Margaret and Duke Robert. Margaret died in mid-August 1600, nearly two years of age.⁵⁷⁸ Unfortunately, details of her funeral are not available. The hurdle to discovering events surrounding Margaret's death was the timing of it, only a week or two after events at Perth, at which time chroniclers and agents were preoccupied with the late Ruthven brothers and not with the death of an infant princess. The king's physicians, Martin Schoner and John Naysmith, were brought to embalm Margaret's body. Alexander Barclay, the royal apothecary, furnished oils, unguents and medications during her illness, and provided Schoner with fine powders and other necessities at her embalming.⁵⁷⁹ Unfortunately, those are the only account entries related to Margaret's death. The process of embalming would mean that her body was prepared for a proper burial, possibly in Linlithgow, as there were no charges for transporting her body to Holyroodhouse. It must have been a trying time for Anna who, within one summer, lost her first child, was faced with controversy surrounding the Gowrie conspiracy, and was heavily pregnant; she gave birth to Charles in November. With all the traumas affecting Anna in her final months of pregnancy, similarities can be drawn with Mary, queen of Scots' own pregnancy. It is not a wonder that Charles was not the healthiest of babies.

⁵⁷⁸ *CSP Scot.*, xiii, nos.539, 542.

⁵⁷⁹ E.21/74, fos.49r, 51v.

The second royal child to die was Robert, who survived little longer than four months.⁵⁸⁰ More is known about what happened with his body. An Edinburgh pewterer, Thomas Weir, was paid to ride to Dunfermline with a lead chest and an oak coffin, the latter of which was used for the burial of the young prince.⁵⁸¹ His body was then transported, by the Lord Treasurer, to Edinburgh where it was quietly buried in the abbey kirk at Holyrood.⁵⁸² A similar scenario would likely have occurred with Margaret's body, although the records do not mention it.

Due to the king's extreme fear of violence and death, it is not surprising that funerals were very subdued events. James, upon his accession to the English throne, delayed his trip to London so that his arrival in the city was after her state funeral. And upon the death of his son Henry, James was so overcome by grief that he departed the court for Theobalds. It is likely that no proper funerals were held for young Margaret and Robert but rather small services spoken in the company of a few close family members.

Protestant reformers were against the pomp that had been associated with Catholic funerals in the past. Englishman Thomas Becon wrote: 'Sumptuous and costly burials are not to be commended, neither do they profit either body or soul, but only set forth a vain, foolish and boasting pomp'.⁵⁸³ On the other hand, William Perkins, a Cambridge Calvinist, seemed to soften this idea when he wrote in 1600 that funerals should be 'agreeable to the nature and credit as well of those which remain alive, as them which are dead'.⁵⁸⁴ This would certainly allow for a tasteful funeral for an immediate member of the royal family. But once again, James's over-riding discomfort with funerals and death precluded any elaborate displays, even of grief.

One noble funeral, that of John, earl of Athol, in July 1579, was documented in accounts. The chancellor's body was transported by his son and a number of nobles from Stirling, where he died, to Leith and from there to Holyroodhouse on 8 July. Two days later, his body was transported to St Giles' where he was honourably buried in St Michael's Aisle. All of the nobility dressed in fine black mourning

⁵⁸⁰ *CSP Scot.*, xiii, no.811.

⁵⁸¹ E.21/76, fo.150r.

⁵⁸² *CSP Scot.*, xiii, no.811.

⁵⁸³ Cressy, *Birth, Marriage & Death*, 412.

⁵⁸⁴ Cressy, *Birth, Marriage & Death*, 415.

clothes for the service.⁵⁸⁵ In May 1592, the duchess of Lennox, Sophia Ruthven, died at Holyroodhouse and was buried ‘very solemnly’.⁵⁸⁶ No extant accounts describe funeral services for other high-ranking nobles, nor details of the processions to their places of burial.

Court Entertainments & Holidays

Apart from the elaborately planned festivities associated with entries, coronations and baptisms, the court occupied itself with assorted activities throughout the years; usually these were centred around the marriages of Scottish nobles and favoured courtiers. James and his courtiers also spent an inordinate amount of time enjoying the hunt, a pastime which the king continued to enjoy until his death.

Not of an athletic build, the sports that James was able to enjoy, riding and hunting, were very much in fitting with a kingly pursuit. A gift of six horses from the duke of Guise ‘filled him with joy’. Some of the king’s pastimes have been recorded, one of which involved a member of Lennox’s train, Monsieur Momberneau, ‘a merry fellow, very able in body, most meet in all respects for bewitching the youth of a prince’. Ambassador Randolph stated, early in 1581, that:

The king ran at the ring, and, for a child, did very well. Momberneau challenged all comers. The whole afternoon and great part of the night were passed with many pleasures and great delights. The next day the king came to Edinburgh to the preaching. That afternoon he spent in like pastimes as he had done the day before’⁵⁸⁷

A few days later, at Leith, he noted that a castle, built on boats and ‘called in derision the Pope’s palace’, was bravely assaulted and set on fire. There was horseracing on the sands and a ludicrous joust between courtiers in small boats.⁵⁸⁸ These were likely the festivities surrounding the marriage of the earl of Moray’s daughter to James Stewart, later earl of Moray, which will be mentioned below.

Court fêtes became one of the most popular means of celebrating monarchs in the sixteenth century. A goal of the court fête was to display the monarch as a figure

⁵⁸⁵ Johnston, *History*, fo.523.

⁵⁸⁶ Johnston, *History*, fo.604r. This was the woman whose relationship with the young duke of Lennox precipitated John Burel’s dedication of *Pamphilus speakand of Lufe* as mentioned in the section on literature.

⁵⁸⁷ Willson, *James VI & I*, 35.

⁵⁸⁸ Willson, *James VI & I*, 35.

of magnificence and power. Performances at court were thus both a recreation and entertainment for the royal courtiers and often served a diplomatic function.

Masques, when disguised strangers entered the banqueting hall and entertained the feasters, were a way of presenting gifts and paying compliments. State banquets often included the appearance of various emblems used to praise the virtues of the monarch and their guests, possibly including coded political messages in the midst of elaborate sugared conceits.⁵⁸⁹

It is believed that Alexander Montgomerie wrote *The Navigatioun* and *A Cartell of the Thre Ventrours Knichts* as part of court entertainments designed to please a youthful king. One suggestion has been that both were composed in 1579, not for the Edinburgh entry, but perhaps something less lavish, such as the entry into Holyrood or the earl of Morton's reception at Dalkeith.⁵⁹⁰ Another suggestion is that *The Navigatioun*, obviously, belonged to the celebrations of 1579 and was either part of James's first entry into Holyrood in September or of a banquet and ball marking the official 'joyous entry' into Edinburgh in October.⁵⁹¹ A third suggestion is that *The Navigatioun*, 'a skillfully ingratiating performance-piece', could possibly have been written for a Christmas masque in 1579.⁵⁹² The connection between *The Navigatioun* and a court fête is especially apparent in its closing lines:

Quho brought vs heir, vnto zour Highnes zett,
Quharas the court with torches all wes sett,
To shau the way vnto zour Grace's hall,
That, eftir supper, we might sie the ball.⁵⁹³

Both works centre around the narrator and a trio of eastern nobles in search of a king, which seems to add weight to the Christmas theory. Whatever the occasion, *The Navigatioun* was only a subsidiary part of a larger spectacle mounted to impress the teenage king, intended as a prelude to further socialising and aiming to put guests in a relaxed mood. It is told in a manner so as not to deflect from the visual splendours and it also allowed Montgomerie to present himself variously as poet, entertainer, man of action, eulogiser and counsellor.⁵⁹⁴ *A Cartell* presented

⁵⁸⁹ A. Cameron, 'Theatre in Scotland: 1214 to the Present' in Scott (ed.), *Cultural History*, 147.

⁵⁹⁰ Jack, *Montgomerie*, 17.

⁵⁹¹ Shire, *Song, Dance and Poetry*, 80.

⁵⁹² Lyall, 'Lowland Scotland', 92.

⁵⁹³ D. Irving, *The Poems of Alexander Montgomery* (Edinburgh, 1821), 242.

⁵⁹⁴ Jack, *Montgomerie*, 18, 19, 23.

Montgomerie, once again, as actor and narrator along with a trio of eastern nobles, and again the emphasis was on the spectacle. It has been noted that the French *cartel* was ‘a courtly prologue to tilting, jousting, fencing’, which helps explain the following lines:

Bot rather for thair Ladyes sake to se
Quha fairest runis and oftest taks the ring.
Go to than shirs and let vs streik a sting.
(Cast crosse or pyle, vha sall begin the play?)
And let the luifsume ladyis and the King
Decerne as Judges vha dois best this day
So for my pairt I haif no more to say.⁵⁹⁵

The later linking of indoor and outdoor entertainments by William Fowler and Lord Lindores strengthens the likelihood that *A Cartell*, outdoors, and *The Navigatioun*, indoors, formed separate parts of the same spectacle.⁵⁹⁶ It has been suggested that, due to the invitation to the ball in *The Navigatioun* and the running at the ring in *A Cartell*, the works were composed as late as 1581, possibly for Moray’s marriage, or 1582, citing that the king had been given dancing lessons only at the end of 1580, thus making it unlikely for any balls to be held prior to that year.⁵⁹⁷

It has been suggested that dance was anathema to the kirk and unknown to James VI’s boyhood education, not appearing until the arrival from France of Esmé Stewart.⁵⁹⁸ However, James did have a dancing instructor as early as 1575, years before his cousin’s arrival. Furthermore, the king’s tutors made the young James dance before the English ambassador, Sir Henry Killigrew, which Killigrew claims he did ‘with a very good grace’.⁵⁹⁹ As for social and masque dances, Helena Shire and Michael Lynch are likely correct in suggesting that these would not have occurred during James’s youth. James, or more correctly, his councillors, did not establish a formal court until 1580, and thus without a court and its need for entertainment, activities such as dances would not have occurred. Nevertheless, there were ‘court’ festivities prior to 1580, such as the royal entry to Edinburgh in October 1579, and in the few years following, such as Moray’s marriage in January 1581. Early festivities could have been overseen, or arranged, by Patrick Hume of Polwarth who held early

⁵⁹⁵ No.55 (and notes), *A Cartell of the Thre Ventrous Knichts*, Parkinson.

⁵⁹⁶ Jack, *Montgomerie*, 24, 25.

⁵⁹⁷ Lynch, ‘Court Ceremony’, 81.

⁵⁹⁸ Shire, *Song, Dance and Poetry*, 69.

⁵⁹⁹ Hume Brown, *George Buchanan*, 258.

ties to the king, as has been mentioned earlier. Esmé Stewart, undoubtedly, would have influenced festivities and activities between October 1579 and August 1582.

The marriages of favoured courtiers and nobles kept the court happily entertained, and provided some impressive spectacles. It was the January 1581 marriage of the earl of Moray's daughter and heir, Elizabeth, to James Stewart (the future 'bonnie earl' of Moray), eldest son of Sir James Stewart, commendator of Inchcolme (and later Lord Doune), that provided the court with nearly two weeks of entertainment. These included running at the ring (a favourite activity of the king), masques (likely, less popular), and 'many pleasures and great delights'.⁶⁰⁰ The most impressive celebration connected with the wedding was the staging of an assault on the 'Pope's pallas' which had been built upon boats on the Water of Leith. This water pageant was an almost direct copy of a splendid pageant staged upon the Thames in June 1539 by Henry VIII in which

the Pope (and his cardinals) made their defiance against England and shot their ordinance at one another, and so had three courses up and down the water, and at the fourth course they joyned together and fought sore; but at last the Pope and his cardinalles were overcome, and all his men cast over the borde into the Thames.⁶⁰¹

The reasons for Henry's pageant were to present a sufficiently explicit and public spectacle through which he could mark the full emergence of the royal supremacy as a part of the king's image.⁶⁰² In the Leith spectacle, James's floating mock fort was burned. The presence of a fort during a pageant was not new to Scotland. A fort representing the divinity of the Stewart monarchy had been erected outside Stirling Castle in 1566 as part of James VI's baptismal celebrations.⁶⁰³ It has been mentioned that the device of a fort and mock battle were common during times of religious wars 'to enact the triumph of Protestant heroes over papistry'.⁶⁰⁴ James VI's court, not that far removed from the Reformation, was simply using an established method of reasserting the authority of the Protestant kirk, and Protestant king, in Scotland.

⁶⁰⁰ Lynch, 'Court Ceremony', 72; *CSP Scot.*, v, no.696.

⁶⁰¹ Loades, *Tudor Court*, 31.

⁶⁰² Loades, *Tudor Court*, 31.

⁶⁰³ Lynch, 'Queen Mary's Triumph', 1; Lynch, 'Court Ceremony', 72-3.

⁶⁰⁴ Lynch, 'Court Ceremony', 73.

The marriage of the master of Ogilvie, one of the gentlemen of the chamber,⁶⁰⁵ to the earl of Gowrie's daughter, Margaret Ruthven, at Holyroodhouse in November 1581 was cause for another great triumph and fireworks,⁶⁰⁶ although specific details are not provided. It should be noted that, as with all weddings, some were elaborate occasions while others were smaller, quieter and family-oriented. Such was the situation with two of Scotland's leading courtiers, the earl of Mar and the duke of Lennox. John, 2nd earl of Mar, married the 2nd duke of Lennox's second youngest sister, Marie, in the chapel of Holyroodhouse on 6 December 1592 'in quyet maner the king and queane beand present' and followed by a banquet which was attended by the king, the duke, Earls Marischal and Morton, Lord Home and the master of Glamis.⁶⁰⁷ From the accounts it would appear that no major festivities accompanied the event. Perhaps this was because it was Mar's second marriage. His first wife, Agnes Drummond, daughter of David, Lord Drummond, had died sometime after 1584. The same was likely true for the duke of Lennox's marriage in 1598 to Jean Campbell, sister of Hugh, Lord Loudoun. Lennox's first wife, Sophia Ruthven, died in May 1592,⁶⁰⁸ while Jean herself was the widow of Robert Montgomerie of Giffen, master of Eglinton.⁶⁰⁹ Lennox's wedding took place in early-September at Sorn, the Ayrshire home of the bride, with the king present. James arrived on 4 September for the duke's bridal, enjoyed the duke's banquet the following day, and after breakfast on 6 September, returned to Glasgow where the royal entourage had remained.⁶¹⁰ Other examples of the king attending the nuptials and baptisms of his nobility were noted above in the section on royal venues.

Due to the strictures of a number of the Scottish ministers, holiday celebrations were kept to a minimum. Only passing references to Christmas festivities exist, and rarely with mention of celebrations or activities. Yule of 1587 was spent at Inverleith, where the king stayed for three or four days.⁶¹¹ The following year's holiday was spent at Kinneil at the invitation of the laird of Arbroath,

⁶⁰⁵ Appendix 2.

⁶⁰⁶ *SP*, vi, 316; Johnston, *History*, fo.538v; Lynch, 'Court Ceremony', 80.

⁶⁰⁷ Johnston, *History*, fo.608r.

⁶⁰⁸ Johnston, *History*, fo.604r.

⁶⁰⁹ *SP*, v, 357.

⁶¹⁰ Appendix 4.

⁶¹¹ Johnston, *History*, fo.579v.

accompanied by Huntly, Crawford, the chancellor, and unnamed others.⁶¹² As noted above, the feasting and festivities at Dalkeith during Christmas 1598, and the birth of Princess Margaret, caused much offence to the ministers. Christmas 1600 was ‘solemnelie kept by the court’ with cannons shot out of Edinburgh castle and ‘other signes of joy’.⁶¹³ The day after Christmas, James prepared a ‘great feast’ at which he created Lords Livingston, Seton and Cessford as earls of Linlithgow, Winton and Roxburgh, respectively.⁶¹⁴ It is possible that James was still in shock after his ‘Gowrie conspiracy’ experience and chose to keep any and all celebrations solemn.

Ambassadors & Visiting Dignitaries

The most regular of court festivities centred around the entertainment of visiting ambassadors. England, of course, had a nearly-resident ambassador, for most of the reign, in the person of Sir Robert Bowes of Aske, treasurer of Berwick. But England was the exception, not the rule. Most visiting dignitaries or ambassadors came either as invited guests to special events, or in the hopes of furthering a specific cause. Whatever the reasons for their journeys, Scotland rolled out the red carpet and made every effort to entertain them in a suitable manner. It must be remembered that ambassadors came not only to meet with the king. They frequently met with leading courtiers, in the hopes of procuring some form of factional pressure upon the king and court, and with the provost, councillors and burgesses of the primary burghs with the aim of cementing trade relations.

Several ambassadors made a point of visiting Scotland following the events of the Ruthven Raid. In early-January 1583, the French ambassador, Seigneur de la Mothe Fénélon, and the English ambassador, Mr Davidson, not only met with the king but also dined with Earl Bothwell afterwards, likely to be reassured that Scotland’s political situation was stable.⁶¹⁵ De la Mothe Fénélon’s meeting with James took place in the king’s outer chamber, which had been ‘apparrelled for that purpose’. The ambassador was escorted into the king’s presence by Robert Melville,

⁶¹² *CSP Scot.*, ix, no.564.

⁶¹³ Calderwood, vi, 100.

⁶¹⁴ Birrell, ‘Diary’, fo.35v.

⁶¹⁵ Calderwood, viii, appendix: 231.

given time to make his delivery of four letters,⁶¹⁶ and likely provided with a chance to question James about the state of the country. A week later, a second French ambassador, Manningville, arrived at Leith ‘with a great traine’. Not content with his appointed meeting with the king, he delayed his departure until after the time of the convention in order to affirm, from a variety of the nobility, whether or not James had been ‘deteaned captive’.⁶¹⁷

Although many ambassadors arrived with a minimum of pomp, wanting simply to fulfil their duties and depart, a number arrived as part of a huge production, such as Manningville and his ‘great traine’. The English tended to the smaller entourages, perhaps because they made such frequent visits. In June 1584, Davidson arrived accompanied by only six horsemen and in May 1585, Sir Edward Wotton, another English ambassador, arrived with 24 horses.⁶¹⁸ Likewise, two Danish ambassadors, directed to Scotland to discuss a possible marriage linking Scotland and Denmark (in this case Anna’s older sister), arrived in two ships but accompanied by only 30 persons.⁶¹⁹ A similarly sized entourage, that of 18 to 20 horses, escorted Monsieur Beron, an ambassador from France who arrived in July 1599.⁶²⁰ On the smaller side, Seigneur de la Mothe Fénélon had been escorted into Scotland in 1583 accompanied by only four or five men.⁶²¹

England, although providing the most constant flow of ambassadors and usually the most restrained trains, backed one of the most elaborate entourages to visit Scotland. In early-June 1590, the earl of Worcester, Lord Compton and 80 horses, which included 20 barons, knights and gentlemen (and possibly as many as 140 persons in total), travelled to Edinburgh properly to welcome Scotland’s new, young queen. This welcome was accompanied by the propine of a wedding gift to Anna of ‘ane clock, ritchly wrocht and set with jowelis, ane carkat of perle, with ane tablet, and a knok’,⁶²² all of which were received by Lady Mar. Edinburgh’s councillors were likely in a panic trying to house over 100 people and stable over 80 horses. Worcester and Compton were to be lodged in Kinloch’s lodging at the foot on the

⁶¹⁶ Calderwood, iii, 697; Calderwood, viii, appendix: 230-31.

⁶¹⁷ Calderwood, iii, 713.

⁶¹⁸ Calderwood, viii, appendix: 123; Johnston, *History*, fo.564v.

⁶¹⁹ Johnston, *History*, fo.564v.

⁶²⁰ Johnston, *History*, fo.633r.

⁶²¹ Calderwood, iii, 697; Calderwood, viii, appendix: 230-31.

⁶²² Moysie, *Memoirs*, 84; Johnston, *History*, fo.598v.

Canongate, but it is highly unlikely that this included enough space for their entourage. Calderwood was quick to point out that this particular ambassador had been the chancellor of the assize which was led against Mary, queen of Scots.⁶²³ Regardless of his past connections, Worcester gained the king's presence at Holyroodhouse, the day following his arrival. Two days later, he was escorted by the earl of Mar and Lord Hamilton into the queen's presence.⁶²⁴

James and Anna's arrival in Scotland occasioned an exceedingly large Danish escort. As daughter of Denmark's late king and sister of the current one, her departure warranted some form of princely show. That Scotland's king had married into, and for a time resided at, the Danish court increased the need for pomp. After all, the Danish court wanted to provide a good show of amity, and prestige, to the court of Scotland. Therefore, James and Anna were accompanied by the admiral of Denmark, a number of Danish noblemen, and 30 or 40 'personis in goldin chenyeis of guid faschioun'. In all, it was reported that 223 Danes travelled in the entourage, 'quhilkis wer all interteined be the king and noblemen of Scotland, and bancketted daylie', at a cost of 1,200 merks, daylie.⁶²⁵ Upon their departure, the Danish lords were escorted to a dinner on their ships by the duke of Lennox, earl of Mar, Lord Hamilton and others. Following the dinner, the cannons at the castle shot their ordnance,⁶²⁶ an honour that not every visiting ambassador received. A few years later, a Danish ambassador, visiting Scotland to ensure that Anna had control of her wedding jointure, and that the same was ratified in parliament, was convoyed to Dunfermline with 200 horses upon 2 July 1593.⁶²⁷ Most likely, this was a Scottish escort as it is highly unlikely that an entourage of that number would have accompanied an ambassador whose primary business was administrative.

It should also be remembered that ambassadors, especially those on long assignments, arrived in the company of their wives and families. Certainly Robert Bowes's wife was often with him in Edinburgh, and was included in the queen's coronation festivities. In July 1602, a French ambassador arrived, accompanied by

⁶²³ Calderwood, v, 99.

⁶²⁴ Johnston, *History*, fo.598v.

⁶²⁵ Moysie, *Memoirs*, 83, 158.

⁶²⁶ Johnston, *History*, fo.598v.

⁶²⁷ Calderwood, v, 254.

his wife and family, apparently with orders to remain in Scotland for three years.⁶²⁸ As the court departed for England less than a year later, it is doubtful that he remained in Scotland that entire time. The same was the case for ambassadors sent by Scotland. In April 1594, Peter Young of Seton was directed as ambassador to Denmark with the assumption that his wife and children would make up part of the company that travelled with him.⁶²⁹ Young returned to Denmark in the summer of 1596, this time in the company of Lord Ogilvie, for the marriage and coronation of Christian IV.⁶³⁰

Unfortunately, due to their lack of resources and a generally more casual court, Scotland found itself inadvertently insulting the occasional European noble. One example of this occurred after the birth of Prince Henry. Apparently Duke Ulric of Mecklenburg and the duke of Brunswick, Anna's grandfather and brother-in-law, respectively, were upset that their invitations to the baptism had not been sent with a special envoy. Thus, upon arrival at Leith, their representatives refused to travel to Stirling with their appointed companion, Peter Young.⁶³¹ They were insulted that their invitations had been delivered without sufficient pomp, and more so by the fact that Young could not even be counted amongst the nobility. That Young was one of James's longest, closest, and most trusted servitors was of little interest to foreigners whose first impressions were limited to rank and title.

Flattery and bribery were favoured means through which ambassadors, who were well aware of royal preferences, impressed the king and ensured his attention. A good example of this occurred in 1585 when Sir Edward Wotton arrived from England. Obviously aware of James's love of riding and the hunt, he brought with him a number of horses, for the king's use, and between 60 and 80 hounds 'with which the king passed his time all that sommer'.⁶³² However, by the end of the summer, he was asking to be dismissed from his position, stating that 'there was nothing but double dealing and deceate in our court'.⁶³³

Gifts were a large part of receiving ambassadors. As shown with the various baptismal gifts and the wedding gift to Anna, propines to resident royalty were a very common occurrence (a Renaissance version of today's 'hostess gifts'). However, not

⁶²⁸ Calderwood, vi, 158.

⁶²⁹ PS.1/66, fo.199v.

⁶³⁰ Calderwood, v, 437.

⁶³¹ Williams, *Anne of Denmark*, 48.

⁶³² Calderwood, iv, 372.

⁶³³ Calderwood, iv, 380.

only did the visiting ambassadors present gifts but they too would be propined upon their departure. It has been stated that, starting in the 1590s, James's need for luxurious diplomatic gifts rose as he increasingly sought to cement his position as Elizabeth's heir presumptive through international recognition.⁶³⁴ In the case of Prince Henry's baptism, every visiting ambassador was presented with a long golden chain, with an added gift to the Danish ambassador of 10 deerhounds to be given to Christian IV.⁶³⁵ Monsieur Beron, the French ambassador, was richly propined with a gold and silver plate-filled cupboard, which led to speculation of a renewal of the Auld Alliance.⁶³⁶ The town of Edinburgh and its contributions to ambassadorial gifts is dealt with in more depth later in the thesis, as is the town's contribution to accommodation and entertainment of ambassadors.

Not only did lodgings and propines make it costly to receive ambassadors, but it was more expensive to deploy ambassadors. John, Lord Hamilton, James's ambassador 'for accomplishing of his hienes mariage' was granted the sum of £20,000 in January 1589 'for the bettir accomplishing quhairof and furnessing of the honorabill chargeis and expenssis'.⁶³⁷ Andrew, Lord Dingwall, was granted a yearly £1,000 pension in an attempt to reimburse him for nearly £5,000 worth of 'greit and sumptuous charges and expenssis' in his services related to the king's marriage.⁶³⁸ As for the archbishop of Glasgow, who served as ambassador in France in 1595, he was responsible for providing payments to the 'king's lieges in France'. Unlike the others who were given monetary rewards, the archbishop was given the 'power to pursue all those indebted to him'.⁶³⁹ In December 1597, the estates granted James a taxation of 200,000 merks in order to send ambassadors to England, France, Denmark, Germany and other kingdoms.⁶⁴⁰

Perhaps the most well known visit by a foreign dignitary was that of Anna's brother, Ulric, duke of Holstein, who arrived in Edinburgh in early-March 1598. Ulric has been described as a 'rather dull, heavily built youth of twenty, who enjoyed

⁶³⁴ Goodare, 'Thomas Foulis', 179.

⁶³⁵ Williams, *Anne of Denmark*, 51.

⁶³⁶ Johnston, *History*, fo.633r.

⁶³⁷ PS.1/58, fo.150v.

⁶³⁸ PS.1/63, fo.117v.

⁶³⁹ PS.1/68, fo.42r.

⁶⁴⁰ Johnston, *History*, fos.630v-31r.

material things of this world, such as eating, drinking and hunting'.⁶⁴¹ Although apparently unexpected, his visit was very much welcomed by Anna and James who saw to it that the duke was 'most royallie intertened and feasted' throughout the country.⁶⁴² Thankfully, Anna was resident in Holyroodhouse upon Ulric's arrival, unlike James who was passing his time in Dundee, not arriving at Holyroodhouse until 16 March. The festivities associated with Ulric's visit necessitated a few changes, namely the transportation of more wine, and glass bottles, from Leith to Holyroodhouse and an enlargement of the court kitchen.⁶⁴³

Ulric was well entertained during his visit. James, never one to pass on an opportunity to hunt, took his young brother-in-law with him at every opportunity. On 18 March, not long after his arrival, Ulric and James spent the day hunting; they dined at Dalmahoy rather than return to Holyroodhouse. On 23 March, they rode off hunting, this time stopping to dine in Riccarton. They again hunted near Edinburgh on 19 May.⁶⁴⁴ There were several other days which the king spent hunting, but it is not stated whether Ulric accompanied him. Ulric did follow James to Newbattle on 12 May where they dined before returning to Holyroodhouse. Other entertainments addressed Ulric's oft-acknowledged love of drinking. Accounts from 22 May stated that 'the king drank all night with the duke of Holstein', an activity which likely occurred several times during Ulric's stay. At some point early in his visit, Ulric made his own progress through central Scotland. Crossing over the Forth, he stopped at Ravenscraig, Balcolmie, Pittenweem, St Andrews, Leuchars, Dundee, Foulis, Perth, Stirling and Linlithgow.

Banquets were also a common occurrence during the duke's visit. The first banquet was held at Holyroodhouse on 30 April. The king's kitchens and cellars provided 47 gallons of ale, 12 gallons of London beer (Anna's favourite), 17 gallons of wine, six veal, eight 'young veal', five 'kids', 44 chickens, three partridges, eight hens, four pounds of fresh butter, mustard, pepper, ginger, cinnamon, cloves, oranges, apples, rice, damson plums, raisins, saffron, almonds, sugar, cheese, olive oil, as well as many other regular and special banquet items. Furthermore, the laird of Traquair provided eight kids, 15 mure fowl, two black cock; the laird of Wigtown, four geese

⁶⁴¹ Williams, *Anne of Denmark*, 60.

⁶⁴² Anderson, *History*, fo.283r.

⁶⁴³ Appendix 4.

⁶⁴⁴ Appendix 4.

and 10 lambs; and the laird of Craigyhall, a peacock. Anna's kitchens also provided food for the banquet, mainly adding to the speciality items such as spices, fruit and sweets, her costs of the banquet approximately £110. Another banquet was held on 25 May, this one not quite as elaborate, but still at a cost to the king of more than £200, and £83 worth of food contributed by Anna.⁶⁴⁵ The town of Edinburgh was involved as well; they hosted a banquet for Ulric in May in McMoran's lodgings at which 'there was great solemnity and myrryness' (James and Anna were both present).⁶⁴⁶

Throughout his trip the young duke was banqueted and royally entertained, often with 'great drinking and pastymes to the said duikis great contentment'.⁶⁴⁷ The English agents noted that nothing was happening in Scotland apart from 'great carousing with the drunken duke of Holstein'.⁶⁴⁸ Ulric departed by ship from Leith upon 3 June, at which time 60 shots were fired.⁶⁴⁹ Accompanying the duke, as a parting gift from James, was an unspecified amount of Bordeaux.⁶⁵⁰ It should be noted that Ulric's visit to Scotland in 1598 and those of Christian IV to London, in 1605 and 1614, were rare occurrences. Royalty in early modern Europe, although perfectly content to travel tirelessly around their own countries, rarely ventured forth to visit neighbouring ones. This was perhaps due to insecurity over the inner stability of a country if the ruler departed, or perhaps out of fear of attack or kidnapping. Certainly, Scotland's privy councillors were far from pleased when James took it upon himself to collect his bride from Norway. After all, what would have happened to the Scottish succession had James perished upon the North Sea?

⁶⁴⁵ Appendix 4.

⁶⁴⁶ Birrell, 'Diary', fo.34r.

⁶⁴⁷ Johnston, *History*, fo.631v; Moysie, *Memoirs*, 137.

⁶⁴⁸ Williams, *Anne of Denmark*, 60.

⁶⁴⁹ Birrell, 'Diary', fo.34r.

⁶⁵⁰ Appendix 4.

Chapter 4: Edinburgh and the Court

History and Government

As the sixteenth century progressed, Edinburgh became increasingly important as a governmental and legislative centre, as well as the favoured home of the royal court. Edinburgh Castle had become the chief royal residence from the reign of James III and was frequently used as such until the reign of James IV, after which time the palace of Holyroodhouse became ever more important. After spending his minority in Stirling Castle, James established his court at Holyroodhouse in the autumn of 1579. Although the royal palaces of Stirling, Linlithgow, Falkland and Dunfermline were still regularly used, it was in Edinburgh that most activity was found in the last quarter of the century. The permanent location of the Court of Justice and governmental departments within Edinburgh are likely to have been major factors in this movement.

The purpose of this chapter is not to examine the political and religious machinations of Edinburgh and its burgesses from the 1580s onwards, in itself a doctoral thesis, but rather to examine how Edinburgh and the royal court cohabited. As the topic is so large, only a few selections of some of the more interesting confrontations and problems facing the town will be included. More weight will be placed on monetary and other types of outlay made by the town on the king's request.

The continued presence of the royal court necessitated some degree of accommodation and conciliation between the court and capital. This chapter aims to explore this relationship through the discovery of the ways in which both sides benefited. Why did the town council agree to the constant demands of the king? What were some of the court expenditures carried by the town? How did the town council and burgesses benefit through connections with the court?

Town Growth and Influence

Edinburgh had attained special status in 1424 as one of the king's four burghs (along with Perth, Dundee and Aberdeen) that provided sureties for payment of James I's

ransom of 50,000 merks.¹ By the beginning of the sixteenth century, the number of royal burghs had risen to nearly 40, although only a handful regularly sent burgesses to parliaments.² One reason for the rise in the number of royal burghs was because most burghs paid only a fixed sum to the crown, thus in order to provide more crown revenue, more towns had to be incorporated. But even before Edinburgh became established as Scotland's capital, it had been one of the country's primary burghs. Two factors in this were the wealth and rich land of Lothian and eastern trading links with the Continent and the Baltic. As a royal burgh it was wealthy, self-governing, able to engage in foreign trade and had direct access to the king. This status also brought financial responsibilities; some of those which directly relate to Edinburgh and the court will be discussed later in this chapter.

From the late-Middle Ages, Edinburgh held a position of importance in Scotland, which meant an active role for the burgh council in the hosting and entertaining of ambassadors and foreign dignitaries.³ The burgh's growing political importance can be linked to an early expansion of privileges in 1482 through a confirmation of its control over the port of Leith and the subsequent granting of the port of Newhaven.⁴ Additional charters in 1482 conferred greater independence from royal domination, primarily the office of sheriff *infra se*, the economic significance of which meant that feudal justice profits would go directly to the burgh.⁵

Edinburgh had been viewed as the premier Scottish town following James III's 'ignominious loss' of Berwick to the English in 1482, 'without a struggle'.⁶ Edinburgh's pre-eminent position was clear when Aberdeen's council made plans, in 1511, to receive Queen Margaret 'als honorablie as ony burgh of scotland except edinburgh allanerlie'.⁷ Poet William Dunbar compared the 'glorious plenty' of paradise in Edinburgh with the 'purgatorial deprivations of the Stirling retreat'.⁸ It

¹ R. Nicholson, *Scotland: The Later Middle Ages* (Edinburgh, 1974), 264; *Edinburgh Charters*, nos.xxiii, xxiv.

² Donaldson, *Scotland*, 8.

³ L.O. Fradenburg, *City, Marriage, Tournament* (Wisconsin, 1991), 20.

⁴ *Edinburgh Charters*, nos.lv, lxiv.

⁵ Fradenburg, *Tournament*, 40-1.

⁶ Lynch, *Scotland*, 97, 129, 155, 159. Berwick was the country's primary port in the thirteenth century, but was lost to the English in 1333. Although Scotland regained control of the port in 1461, it was only able to hold it for 20 years.

⁷ Fradenburg, *Tournament*, 29.

⁸ Fradenburg, *Tournament*, 12 [Dunbar, *The Dregey of Dunbar Maid to King James the Fowrth being in Strivilling*].

has been suggested that, in this poem, the court was the source of plenty and that Edinburgh's merchants were the importers of its luxury goods, that there was no economy save that of conspicuous consumption and that all surplus was used in communal feasting. Furthermore, it is claimed that 'Edinburgh itself seems to have no existence apart from the court'.⁹ This is far from accurate, as it was during this period that Edinburgh was consolidating its share of overseas trade and expanding its population.¹⁰ An additional suggestion is that by the fifteenth century a clear distinction between town burgh and court servant would have been difficult to maintain because not only was Edinburgh the chief burgh of Scotland but it was also 'the single most important site for the display and practice of royal power'.¹¹ The validity of this statement, with regard to the later-sixteenth century, is debatable and will be looked at in more depth later.

Edinburgh had increasingly become the royal administrative centre in the century or so before the reign of James VI. By the reign of James III, almost all parliaments were held in Edinburgh, as were sessions of the lords of council, most Great Seal royal charters were granted at Edinburgh, coins were minted in Edinburgh, the exchequer was held in Edinburgh and royal administrative records and the royal treasure was held in Edinburgh Castle.¹² Not surprisingly, James III's household used Edinburgh merchants extensively when procuring household goods and supplies, thus bringing economic profitability to the town,¹³ although this also brought debts and outlays when the crown failed to pay. By the sixteenth century, Edinburgh had far surpassed any other royal burgh in terms of overseas trade and its size. Its taxation assessment was often as much as Dundee, Perth and Aberdeen, combined, while on average it contributed between one-fifth and a quarter of the total burgh taxation.¹⁴

It has been argued that the sixteenth century saw the return of the royal burghs to the national stage, and their closer involvement both with central government and

⁹ Fradenburg, *Tournament*, 14.

¹⁰ My thanks to Michael Lynch for pointing this out and generally sharing his expert knowledge of the history of Edinburgh with me.

¹¹ Fradenburg, *Tournament*, 14, 32.

¹² N. Macdougall, *James III: A Political Study* (Edinburgh, 1982), 303-4; Fradenburg, *Tournament*, 22-3.

¹³ Fradenburg, *Tournament*, 30.

¹⁴ Donaldson, *Scotland*, 11.

their landed neighbours.¹⁵ National politics increasingly had a strong influence on the political standing of the burghs. It has further been claimed that Edinburgh's importance was such that an insecure government found it helpful to place their own nominee as town provost.¹⁶ Following the Ruthven regime (1582-3) and the reassertion of power by James VI, or more correctly by his new advisers, parliament in 1584 reasserted the crown's authority over all estates, temporal and ecclesiastical. This in turn meant that burgh government was subjected to an unprecedented scale of interference.

Interference by the Arran government showed the crown taking a very direct hand in the government of the burghs in the mid-1580s.¹⁷ The Arran regime sought to secure the burghs of Edinburgh, Dundee, Perth, Glasgow, Stirling, Dumfries and Cupar by installing provosts who were key figures in the administration. In October 1583, Melvillians were excluded from Edinburgh's town council in a move to clear the way for Arran who, in the following year, forced himself on the town as its provost. Such systematic interference in burgh affairs reached its climax under the Arran regime in 1583-85. It has been claimed that 'the most overt encroachments by the crown on the independence of the burghs came, not in the majority of strong-minded kings like James V and VI, but in royal minorities - and especially in the 1540s, 1550s and early 1580s'.¹⁸ As for Edinburgh's political importance, the town 'reluctantly, but increasingly, became the cockpit not only for English policy in Scotland but also for the shifting factionalism of Scottish politics'.¹⁹ Although Aberdeen was wealthy and important, it was more successful in controlling its own affairs and therefore less susceptible to struggles of various parties for control. The conflict over Edinburgh's election of provosts and control of the council is another topic that will be dealt with further along in this chapter.

Although, occasionally, a number of local lairds were burgesses and sat on the town council, unlike the Ruthven influence in Perth there were no permanently-established outside interests in sixteenth-century Edinburgh, despite the proximity to

¹⁵ M. Lynch, 'The Crown and the Burghs, 1500-1625', in M. Lynch (ed.), *The Early Modern Town in Scotland* (London, 1987), 55-6.

¹⁶ The state of the country was calm if a local laird or burgess ruled, while the presence of a Douglas, Hamilton or Stewart, was a sure sign that factions were engaged in a contest for power. Donaldson, *Scotland*, 11.

¹⁷ Lynch, 'Crown and Burghs', 57.

¹⁸ Lynch, 'Crown and Burghs', 58.

¹⁹ M. Lynch, *Edinburgh and the Reformation* (Edinburgh, 1981), 215.

the capital of a number of leading nobles. The greatest influence on politics came from intervention either by the crown itself or a court faction. Although the crown or court regularly imposed their choice of provost on the burgh, rarely was there any tampering with the lower levels of the administration. The only notable exceptions to this during James VI's reign were the forcing into exile of the council by the queen's lords in 1571 and the purge by James Stewart, earl of Arran, of radical supporters of the Ruthven regime in 1583.²⁰ By the 1580s, Edinburgh's court was well used to the need for 'courting'.

Edinburgh's population within the walls was close to 12,000 in 1560, or 15,000 - 18,000 when looking at greater Edinburgh (which included the surrounding burghs).²¹ A 1636 population estimate has been given at 27,000,²² which helps provide an estimate of approximately 21,000 in the Edinburgh area in 1600. It has been claimed that account should also be taken of the greater and minor nobility who came and went at their will and the ever-increasing numbers of lawyers, administrators and professional men, most of whom were not taxed and therefore did not appear on the tax rolls which were used to estimate population.²³

Edinburgh had many difficulties with its neighbouring burgh of Canongate and its port, two miles away, at Leith. It was also faced with a recurrent series of food shortages, outbreaks of the plague, threats to its political and economic independence as well as siege and invasion between the 1540s and 1580s. As has already been noted, Edinburgh had been granted control over Leith in the late-fifteenth century. However, it had no such control over the burgh of the Canongate. One example of neighbourly difficulty was the disputes that arose over the rights of Canongate craftsmen to sell their wares on Edinburgh's High Street, resulting in a losing court battle in 1573 for Edinburgh.²⁴ The Canongate, due to its close proximity to Holyroodhouse and its more spacious layout, increasingly became a residential suburb for courtiers and crown officials. It also acted as a safe haven for those who wanted to evade their civic duties.

²⁰ Lynch, *Reformation*, 6.

²¹ Lynch, *Reformation*, 3; W. Makey, 'Edinburgh in Mid-Seventeenth Century', in Lynch (ed.), *Early Modern Town*, 205.

²² Makey, 'Edinburgh', 205.

²³ Lynch, *Reformation*, 9.

²⁴ Lynch, *Reformation*, 5-6.

Merchants and Craftsmen

In discussing the early Stewart period, it has been argued that ‘burghal life showed a zest for social stratification and rigid apportionment of economic opportunities among the carefully differentiated categories of persons who lived in the burgh or used its facilities’.²⁵ It was from this new social stratification that several influential groups emerged. One of these was the overseas merchants: members of the merchant guildry, who benefited from Edinburgh’s steady accumulation of most of Scotland’s foreign trade in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Another group was the merchant burgesses who gained fortunes and influence through their ties to the royal court. Control of the burghs was often found to be held, generation-by-generation, by local peers and lairds. However, successful burgesses could work their way upwards through the echelons of society by acquiring landed estates and passing into the ranks of the gentry.²⁶

An analysis of land sales in James IV’s reign shows that whereas the aristocracy and gentry were busily selling off land, merchants were at the same time buying land.²⁷ This helps to explain why William Dunbar wrote of the Edinburgh merchants, ‘Your proffeit daylie dois incres’.²⁸ Their superiority over craftsmen was soon secure. Although craftsmen had gained corporate recognition in 1474, they lost control of price-setting and workmanship standards in 1493.²⁹ Between 1474 and 1536, Edinburgh granted letters of incorporation to 14 crafts, five more than any other Scottish burgh.³⁰ However, the incorporation of craft guilds did much to increase the role of the crafts in civic pageantry, and thereby increasing the standing of local craftsmen. So, although they did not have the say in government that the merchants did, they remained a major part of burgh pageantry. After all, the craft guilds were some of the first people contact whenever a civic or royal entry was to occur.

Civic pageants and processions, most of which were related to Catholic holidays, were virtually non-existent following the Reformation. Prior to 1560, plays

²⁵ Nicholson, *Scotland*, 263.

²⁶ Donaldson, *Scotland*, 12. The Napier family is an excellent example of a burgess family on the rise in fifteenth-century Edinburgh. They were still influential in Edinburgh by the end of the sixteenth century.

²⁷ Wormald, *Scotland*, 48.

²⁸ Wormald, *Scotland*, 48.

²⁹ Wormald, *Scotland*, 49.

³⁰ M. Lynch, ‘Scottish Towns 1500-1700’ in Lynch (ed.), *Early Modern Town*, 8-9.

and a procession had been held in Edinburgh to celebrate Corpus Christi Day. Records of the Hammermen's guild detail payments for the furnishing of Herod and knights (either as part of the play or in the procession), minstrels, and banner-bearers.³¹ It has been suggested that these civic processions may have included plays staged at the traditional 'stations' of the royal entries.³² Records of civic processions before the Reformation are scarce, and absolutely nothing is mentioned relating to strictly civic pageantry within the records from 1567 to 1603.

Scottish merchants had their own agendas, which tended to differ from that of the government. It is argued that, although Edinburgh merchants benefited from periods of Scottish peace, they were hampered by wars involving Scotland's trading partners. Furthermore, they complained in 1524 about the Auld Alliance as it hampered trade with England, Flanders, and Spain.³³ This situation seems to have resolved itself by the late-sixteenth century when some Scottish burgesses had 'amassed what were by the standards of their time great fortunes, and were handling far larger sums of money than the nobles and landed gentry'.³⁴ Edinburgh, in the late-fifteenth and early-sixteenth centuries, has been described as dependent upon crown patronage for its privileges, that it owed its service to the crown, and yet, at the same time, was a source of disorder and a possible threat to crown stability. Further to this, it has been suggested that royal protection of a town's commerce was often the forerunner of royal exploitation of its wealth.³⁵

Edinburgh's increasing trade can be seen through the following figures. In 1499, the burgh exported 44,325 sheepskins, 28,740 skins of other animals and 24,347 hides. This had risen to 196,672 sheepskins, 204,526 other skins and 36,658 hides by 1598.³⁶ This was accompanied by a rise in inhabitants, who were drawn to the town because of its 14 markets. It has been suggested that 'the rise in human population and the dramatic increase in productivity of traditional animal-based industries was the central factor in the social history of Edinburgh between 1550 and 1650'.³⁷ Furthermore, Edinburgh held the majority of overseas trade by the sixteenth

³¹ Mill, *Mediaeval Plays*, 72.

³² Mill, *Mediaeval Plays*, 73.

³³ Wormald, *Scotland*, 46.

³⁴ Donaldson, *Scotland*, 251.

³⁵ Fradenburg, *Tournament*, 5, 11-12.

³⁶ Lynch, *Scotland*, 175-76.

³⁷ Lynch, *Scotland*, 176.

century, paying 60 per cent of all customs revenue. By the 1590s, it was exporting all of Scotland's raw wool, 83 per cent of hides, 80 per cent of woolfells and 76 per cent of woollen cloth, but only 25 per cent of salmon and less in other fish.³⁸

Not only a busy trading centre, Edinburgh also had a thriving and diverse economy complemented by a prosperous craft aristocracy. It has been estimated that Edinburgh, in 1583, had approximately 500 merchants and 500 craftsmen whereas Glasgow, in 1604, had 312 merchants and 361 craftsmen and Aberdeen, in 1623, had 114 craftsmen and approximately 350 merchants.³⁹ Some of these crafts, in particular the tailors, goldsmiths, and skimmers, developed craft 'aristocracies' which were built around provisions to the court. During James VI's reign, a number of Edinburgh craftsmen held long-standing appointments as providers to the king's household: Thomas Foulis, George Heriot, Robert Jossie, Henry White, and James Inglis.⁴⁰

The Edinburgh trading community consisted primarily of middling merchants and shopkeepers. Although Edinburgh did contain some exceedingly rich men, these were in the minority. It has been argued that Edinburgh could claim only seven wealthy individuals, at death, according to an English memorandum of 1580 that described wealth as £1,000 sterling. However, due to an ever-fluctuating exchange rate, an increasingly-devalued Scots pound, and different years of deaths, a straight comparison is impossible. That said, although they cannot be compared, the wealthiest individuals were William Birny, who died in 1569, leaving an estate of £2,422 (sterling), and John McMorane, who died in the 1590s with approximately £3,155 (sterling). Investments of, and services rendered by, this group included shipping, money-lending both private and public, sub-letting of burgh property, holding of land as security, merchandising, provisioning of noble households and their stock of cloths and wine.⁴¹ Janet Fockhart, an extensive money-lender, included many prominent people among her list of debtors: 'Lord Lindores, £600, pledged, a woman's gown of cloth of silver, two great gold pieces, gold buttons and a jewel; Lady Orkney, £100, pledged, a diamond ring and a 'pointed' diamond ring; Lord

³⁸ Lynch, 'Scottish Towns', 8-9.

³⁹ Lynch, 'Scottish Towns', 13.

⁴⁰ Appendix 1.

⁴¹ The other wealthy Scots were John Provand, Janet Fockhart (the widow of William Fowler), John Dick, Hector Rae, and Niniane McMorane (John's brother): M.H.B. Sanderson, 'The Edinburgh Merchants in Society, 1570-1603; the Evidence of their Testaments', in Cowan and Shaw (eds.), *The Renaissance and Reformation in Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1983), 183-84; Lynch, *Reformation*, 52-3.

Spynie, 200 merks, pledged a target of gold and 17 diamonds'. Others owed her large sums on obligation: Lady Gowrie (£636), Andrew Lekprevik (£100), William Napier and David Hoppringle as cautioners for the earl of Orkney (1,200 merks), the 'Auld Lady Justice Clerk' (£100), the master of Orkney (£100), Lord Glamis (£1,044) and Robert Hudson (£10).⁴²

One example of an Edinburgh merchant who thrived economically was John McMorane, called 'the richest merchant in his time',⁴³ with an inventory of his ample clothing and furnishing testifying to this. His estate in 1596 totalled £21,544 10s 7d, and debts owing to him amounted to £16,316 13s 2d.⁴⁴ McMorane was not the only wealthy burghess of the time, although he was probably the wealthiest. That James VI is found to have lodged occasionally in the mansion of Robert Gourlay⁴⁵ would point to the fact that these burghesses were of sufficient wealth to entertain a monarch in a style to which he was accustomed.

When looking at craftsmen, those occupying the top 15 per cent accounted for over half the wealth of the entire group and accounted for more councillors than all of their colleagues combined. Of this crafts aristocracy approximately two-fifths were tailors. By 1583, Edinburgh had as many as 142 tailors and drapers. There were also seven goldsmiths, five skinners, four bakers, four surgeons, or barbers, three saddlers, and three shoemakers. Furthermore, there were three drapers, two dyers, or litsters, and a hat maker, who were not, strictly speaking, craftsmen. It has been argued that 'the picture is clearly that of an expanding and increasingly sophisticated market, whose demands were the source of the accumulation and concentration of wealth among a select band of craftsmen'.⁴⁶

The one main exception to Scotland's lack of skilled native craftsmen was Edinburgh's goldsmiths who by the late-sixteenth century became renowned internationally for their gold- and silver-work.⁴⁷ These goldsmiths often found themselves in the position of moneylenders to the crown and as importers of luxury goods for the king and queen. A result of a steadily declining wool trade and a reliance upon the exportation of raw materials meant that Scotland was wholly reliant

⁴² Sanderson, 'Edinburgh Merchants', 188.

⁴³ Calderwood, v, 382.

⁴⁴ Donaldson, *Scotland*, 251.

⁴⁵ Donaldson, *Scotland*, 252.

⁴⁶ Lynch, *Reformation*, 53.

⁴⁷ Wormald, *Scotland*, 43.

upon an import trade of manufactured and luxury items. In July 1589, the king wrote a letter to Lord Burghley, high treasurer of England, stating that he had directed the bearers, Robert Jossie and Thomas Foulis, merchants of Edinburgh, toward London ‘for buying, and provision of certaine abulzementis and utheris ornamentis requisit for decoration of our Mariage’ and that he wished nothing to hinder the completion of their task as ‘it is ane extraordinarie occasion’.⁴⁸

In the accounts of May 1590, Thomas Foulis was paid £1,500 ‘to help the outred of certane cheinyeis delyverit to the Admirall of Denmark’.⁴⁹ A further payment of £1,466 5s is noted ‘for certane new yeir giftis furneist be him in the moneth of Januar 1586 yeiris, quhen his Majestie wes in Inverleyth; for quhilk, he had ane great tabled diamond in plege, and wes delyverit to his Hienes self at Leith, at his Majesties passing to Denmark’.⁵⁰ Add to that another payment of £2,427 13s 8d ‘for quhilk the said Thomas had in plege certane of his Majesties jowells, to wit, Tua tabled rubeis and thrie greit rubeis caboschen esmallit with quhyte, reid and blak, and delyverit to his Hienes awin self, at his grace passing to Denmark’.⁵¹ George Heriot, who contributed greatly to the royal jewels and the importation of luxury goods from London, was also an important financial backer in the foundation of the Society of Brewers in 1596⁵² and it was his immense fortune that created Heriot’s Hospital Trust after his death in 1626.

Both James and Anna were repeatedly in debt for thousands of pounds to burgesses such Foulis and Heriot. The king’s debt to Foulis was so great that in December 1597 parliament created him collector of the customs, master of the imposts and treasurer as a way for Foulis to recoup some of what James owed.⁵³ Foulis did not last long in his offices as on 17 January 1598 he ‘fell in a phrenesie, becaus he was not able to satisfie his creditors for the debt he had contracted in furnishing the king’. His offices were taken from him, as was a precious jewel, called

⁴⁸ *Papers Relative to Marriage*, appendix i: 3.

⁴⁹ *Papers Relative to Marriage*, appendix ii: 16.

⁵⁰ *Papers Relative to Marriage*, appendix ii: 18.

⁵¹ *Papers Relative to Marriage*, appendix ii: 18. Also, B.P. Lenman, ‘Jacobean Goldsmith-Jewellers as Credit-Creators: The Cases of James Mossman, James Cockie and George Heriot’, *SHR*, lxxiv (1955), 159-177.

⁵² Lynch, *Scotland*, 176.

⁵³ Calderwood, v, 668. For more information on Foulis see J. Goodare, ‘Thomas Foulis and the Scottish Fiscal Crisis of the 1590s’, in Ormrod, *et al.* (eds.), *Crises, Revolutions and Self-Sustained Growth*, 173-203.

the 'H', which he held in pledge from the king. He was granted a *supersedere* so that his creditors would not trouble him until he received payment from the crown.⁵⁴

McMorane, Foulis and Heriot were exceptional cases. Edinburgh's merchants and craftsmen, on the average, were smaller, less influential figures but that is not to say that they did not have connections. In a study of family relationships, Margaret Sanderson found that, out of 68 cases, over half had kinship ties with other merchants. Her study revealed that 36 had a kinship with other merchants, 12 with proprietors, including lairds, 10 with craftsmen, and 10 with professional groups such as lawyers and the clergy.⁵⁵ Taken as a whole, the merchants and craftsmen of Scotland's capital were a closely-knit, influential, and in some cases extremely wealthy, group.

Town Council

Edinburgh's council was increasingly overworked in the late-sixteenth century. Some of the problems the council faced was an ever-increasing number of poor, a combination of plague and famine in 1569 and 1585 and economic dislocation caused by the civil wars of the early 1570s. More mundane council matters included the pricing of all food and drink consumed in the town.⁵⁶ Money was continually an area of contention, even if it was needed for essential maintenance repairs or the obligatory ceremonial occasions ordered by the king. The craft deacons objected to the amount to be raised for celebrating the return of Queen Mary in 1561 and again with the festivities surround the baptism of her son in 1566.⁵⁷ More of these aspects will be dealt with in the following sections of this chapter.

The town council met twice a week, on Wednesday and Friday mornings, from the mid-1550s until 1584, when it added a Tuesday afternoon sitting to deal with increasing demands.⁵⁸ It has been argued that the council was 'a self-perpetuating oligarchy'⁵⁹ with council continuity assured through a complicated process of cross- and self-election that had been established by acts of parliament going back to 1469.

⁵⁴ Calderwood, v, 673.

⁵⁵ Sanderson, 'Edinburgh Merchants', 184.

⁵⁶ Lynch, *Reformation*, 19. See also, T.C. Smout, 'Coping with plague in sixteenth and seventeenth century Scotland', *Scotia*, ii (1978), 19-33.

⁵⁷ Lynch, *Reformation*, 22.

⁵⁸ Lynch, *Reformation*, 15.

⁵⁹ Lynch, *Reformation*, 15.

In general, each Michaelmas, the old and new councils met to elect a provost, four baillies, treasurer and dean of guild from the ten retiring and two new merchant councillors. Furthermore two craftsmen, drawn from the wealthiest and most respectable guilds were elected to the council from a list by the deacons of the incorporated crafts.⁶⁰ The provost, however, was more often than not imposed from outside rather than nominated from inside, and rarely was an imposed provost a merchant burgess, as will be seen later. By the 1580s, the council was coming to be dominated by wealthy merchants. Although the actual numbers did not increase, their length of tenure did. In the 1560s, it was unusual to serve more than 10 years, and few served longer than 15. By the late-1570s, however, it was becoming more common to serve long terms. Some burgesses that came to office in the late-1560s were still there nearly 20 years later.⁶¹

The faction that returned to power in the election of October 1580 was comprised partly of merchants who had run afoul of Morton in 1575. Although the anti-Morton faction was reduced after a short-lived coup in April 1578, it did not disappear, as can be seen with Alexander Uddart, David Williamson, Henry Nisbet and William Little remaining on the council. It has been stated that factionalism had been developing since 1575 with its primary focal point being Morton.⁶² Edinburgh found itself in the midst of factional politics in June 1581, at the time of Morton's execution. These factions were formed within a body of younger and respectable merchants and as a response to issues other than civil war and religious politics.⁶³ Many disputes arose between Morton and the merchants of Edinburgh, one of which occurred in 1579 when a group of merchants were called before the privy council on charges of refusing to supply cut-price wine to the court. The result of the dispute was that Edinburgh's baillies were accused of failing to operate the acts regulating wine prices.⁶⁴

Edinburgh's provost, Alexander Clark, is a clear example of someone who adjusted to varying political situations in order to retain a council position. He made a loan to Kirkcaldy of Grange in the final stages of the siege of Edinburgh castle and

⁶⁰ Lynch, *Reformation*, 15, 17. These guilds included the hammermen, skimmers, furriers, goldsmiths, tailors and barbers.

⁶¹ Lynch, *Reformation*, 16.

⁶² Lynch, *Reformation*, 156.

⁶³ Lynch, *Reformation*, 153.

⁶⁴ Lynch, *Reformation*, 154-5.

held the royal jewels as security for the said loan. Morton cleared up this matter for Clark and in return gained the provost's loyalty. Naturally, when Morton's downfall became imminent, Clark was concerned that his name remained clear. This undoubtedly explained his flexibility as provost during the Lennox and Arran periods that followed. The survival of Clark as provost is far from the usual experience as estimates ranging from 52 to over 150 burgesses were forced to leave town during Morton's trial in May 1581.⁶⁵

Many of the merchants who had been forced out by Morton proved willing to support both the Lennox and Arran regimes, the latter of which they saw as 'a return to a *via media* after the extremes of the Ruthven Raid'.⁶⁶ Although both factions were able to draw from a group of respectable merchants, the pro-Arran group, in the aftermath of the Ruthven regime, had a stronger foothold in the uppermost layers of the establishment with support from Little, Napier, Williamson, James Ross, the two Uddarts and the two Nisbets, all of whom occupied the top 25 or so of the merchant establishment. The rival faction could claim only three men of this class: John Dougal, Mungo Russell and John Robertson. It has been stated that 'the radicals may have had popularity; the moderates had wealth and privilege'.⁶⁷

The king quite frequently took, or at least tried to take, an active role in the governing of his burgh of Edinburgh, usually in the form of influencing the council's composition. One example of this happened in June 1579 when the king's council sent Alexander Young, one of the king's servitors, to request that newly chosen deacons who 'had thair remanyng in Edinburgh the tyme of the troublis' be deposed and those that served the king be elected in their stead.⁶⁸

As the king did not spend all of his time in Edinburgh, the town often sent a number of its councillors to wherever the king was situated. There were many instances when the town reimbursed councillors for their expenses in passing to the king 'in the townis affairs'. On 9 June 1584, four baillies were nominated to travel to the king at Falkland with the request that the town not be burdened with anything 'hurtfull to thair consciences' and to ask that the king be content with the second form

⁶⁵ Lynch, *Reformation*, 155.

⁶⁶ Lynch, *Reformation*, 157.

⁶⁷ Lynch, *Reformation*, 159.

⁶⁸ *Edin. Recs.* (1573-1589), 109. James's more direct handiwork in the election of provosts is discussed later.

of a letter to be sent to ‘our ministers in Ingland quhilk ye towne is chairget to subscryve’.⁶⁹ Later, Edinburgh merchant William Fairlie was appointed to pass to the king at Falkland and in the town’s name work for the relief and ‘hame bringing’ of the neighbours who had been directed to guard the king.⁷⁰ Often it was the Lord Provost himself that was sent to the king, as was shown in October 1597, when he and his company were sent to the convention in Falkland and, a month later, to the king at Linlithgow.⁷¹ A later entry for October 1600 noted that merchant Alexander Stewart was reimbursed for his expenses to pass to the king in Stirling.⁷² Councillors were also occasionally called upon to fulfil the queen’s business, as in April 1592 when James Nicoll, Thomas Aitkenhead, Clement Kerr, and both Heriots (George, the elder, and George, the younger) were ordered to consult with her about her request for the sugarman to be received as a burghess and guild member.⁷³

Lord Provosts

The office of provost and the elections thereto seem to have provided the most frequent source of conflict between the burgh and the court. The aim of the elections was that whoever placed their man as Lord Provost also had virtual control of the town. Factional politics, which affected the council’s composition, was not a new phenomenon by any means. The appearance of Patrick Hepburn, Lord Hailes, as provost in 1487 was an early sign of factionalism affecting elections.⁷⁴ For James VI, the imposition of a provost seems to have become almost a regular occurrence, much to the town’s displeasure.

On 6 October 1578, Edinburgh’s magistrates were ordered, under threat of horning, to elect Alexander Clark as provost within three hours. The council complained to the king about this breach of their privileges, to which James answered that it should not hurt their privileges. They returned, defeated, to the council house and received Clark, although they continued to protest that it was prejudicial to their

⁶⁹ Edin. Min., vii, fo.92r.

⁷⁰ Edin. Min., vii, fo.93v.

⁷¹ Edin. TA (1596-1612), fos.20, 22, 24.

⁷² Edin. TA (1596-1612), fo.262.

⁷³ *Edin. Recs.* (1589-1603), 64.

⁷⁴ Fradenburg, *Tournament*, 38.

liberties.⁷⁵ In the October 1579 elections, the town again approved Clark as provost, as per the king's command 'as thir syn is regrat', and ordained a missive to be sent to the said Alexander after noon of that day to accept the office.⁷⁶ The king actually delayed his October 1582 return to Edinburgh from Stirling because of the 'late sturres rysinge in Edenburgh for the election of the provost there'. It was reported that the Edinburgh merchants and craftsmen had been in such disagreement over the choice of provost that 'the matter was like to have comed to stroks'. The end result was that Clark, 'an especiall frend to the duke [of Lennox] and favourour of France' was chosen by a majority of the craftsmen although the merchants and 'best' burgesses dissented.⁷⁷

In the October 1583 election James sent a letter favouring the continued service of Clark, and the royal list of baillies and other officers were 'known to be wholly affectionate to the lords in the court and to the French'. Ambassador Bowes stated: 'the King hath planted these and other noblemen and favourers of this court, to the common offence of the broughes, that complain to see their ancient priveleges thus broken against their wills and powers to remedy the same'.⁷⁸ Due to the flexibility of Provost Clark, he was able to weather factionalism and a number of shifts in council control to remain through the Morton, Lennox and Arran periods.

The next year the king again sent a servitor, in this instance Mr George Young, with a letter to those having a vote in the elections with recommendations for persons to be elected to the council. James desired the voters 'to cheise immediatlie to the saidis offices' James, earl of Arran, chancellor and Edinburgh burgess, as provost 'with power to him to depute under him sic as he sall answer for to attend upoun ye office in his absence', Henry Nisbet, James Nicoll, William Nisbet and William Harvie as baillies, Nicoll Uddart as dean of guild and James Ross to continue as treasurer. These men were chosen 'for thair knawin dispositioun to ye obedience of our lawes... and thair perticulare affectioun to ye weill of our said burgh'. Not too surprisingly the council agreed to obey and fulfil the king's wishes.⁷⁹

⁷⁵ Calderwood, iii, 458; *Edin. Recs.* (1573-1589), 121.

⁷⁶ *Edin. Min.*, v, fo.166r.

⁷⁷ Bowes, *Correspondence*, ciii; *Edin. Recs.* (1573-1589), 270, 273.

⁷⁸ Bowes, *Correspondence*, cclxviii.

⁷⁹ *Edin. Recs.* (1573-1589), 353.

James, earl of Arran, was re-elected as provost in the Michaelmas 1585 elections. Henry Nisbet and Thomas Aitkenhead were commissioned to inform the earl of his re-appointment and that, 'at his lordships desire', they elected William Napier, William Fairlie, David Williamson and John Wilkyne as baillies, Nicoll Uddart as dean of guild, and James Inglis treasurer. They requested the earl to 'take order' so that they could accept their offices and 'the towne be nocht left desolatt'.⁸⁰ This journey apparently amounted to nothing. Two months later, as a result of the fall of Chancellor Arran, the council convened to hear a letter sent from the king to the council and voters. James recommended that 'respecting your provestis present estaitt' and the necessity of that office within the town they depose Arran and elect 'our weilbelouit' William Little in his place until next Michaelmas. The reasons James gave for this action was that Little was 'weill affectit to our seruice and cairful of your towne' and had given 'guid occasioun to consaue weill of his honestie'. Not surprisingly, the town agreed and deposed James, earl of Arran, and in his place, 'all in ane voice', chose Little to sit until the following Michaelmas.⁸¹ In September 1586, the council sent representatives to the king to thank him for the good favour shown to the town by permitting them to elect their magistrates from their own number, according to the ancient privileges of the burgh.⁸²

The town was not always happy to allow the king to so strongly sway town business, which is clear through James's next attempt to interfere in burgh politics. The royal choice of provost in October 1593 was Alexander Home of North Berwick, 'the goodman of North Berwick', who had long been associated with James's court. In December 1580, Home had been directed as ambassador to the queen of England to deal with the suppression of disorder upon the Borders and to address piracies committed by Englishmen upon Scottish merchants and their ships.⁸³ He had been listed as one of the king's domestic servitors in 1580,⁸⁴ and his name appeared many times within the treasurer's accounts as having received payments from the crown.

In late-September 1593, James had sent a letter to the council with his choices for provost and baillies. The town's answer was to send John Arnott and Edward

⁸⁰ *Edin. Recs.* (1573-1589), 438.

⁸¹ *Edin. Recs.* (1573-1589), 442-3.

⁸² *Edin. Recs.* (1573-1589), 472.

⁸³ Johnston, *History*, fo.527v.

⁸⁴ Appendix I.

Galbraith to the king asking to obtain the liberty of their own elections according to the town's privileges.⁸⁵ Bowes claimed that the privy council wished to impose Home as provost, but the king and chancellor let it be known that James would be content if the council chose from a shortlist of three acceptable burgesses.⁸⁶ Although James, according to English accounts, was willing to allow the town to choose its own provost, the reality of the elections was an entirely different matter. On 2 October 1593, the entire council was convened in the Tolbooth to choose the magistrates of the town. John Brown, treasurer officer, came with the king's charge commanding them to receive 'our trustie and weil belovit' Alexander Home of North Berwick as provost within three hours under the pain of horning, which, if the time past and the order ignored they would be put to the horn 'and escheit and inbring all thair moveabillis for ther contemptioun (this was thocht to be dooid that the papist lordis nicht haif fre entry to edinburgh)'. The result was that the council obeyed and elected Home as provost 'to the great displeser of the ministrie and commontie of Edinburgh'.⁸⁷ As he was neither an Edinburgh burgess nor guild member, Home was made first to pledge those oaths before he was allowed to pledge the oath of the office of provost.⁸⁸ Bowes implied that Home was not consulted on his appointment as he initially refused to accept the office, although it was thought that James would command him to accept.⁸⁹

James's letter had stated that he was acting upon an ancient privilege that, in times of apparent troubles and commotions, allowed him to place councillors within the burgh 'to haif the rewle and governance thair of as hes seymit lesit factious and best inclynet toward thame'. This had been utilised previously during James's reign by Regent Moray in 1575, the privy council in April 1578, and James, with his council, in 1579, 1582, 1583, 1584 and 1585. James also commanded and charged the council to choose four out of seven nominated persons as baillies. He continued by declaring that this shall 'na wayes be prejudiciall nor derogative to the privileges, liberteis and immunitieis' granted to the burgh.⁹⁰

⁸⁵ *Edin. Recs.* (1589-1603), 97.

⁸⁶ *CSP Scot.*, xi, no.142.

⁸⁷ Johnston, *History*, fo.615v; Calderwood, v, 269.

⁸⁸ *Edin. Recs.* (1589-1603), 98.

⁸⁹ *CSP Scot.*, xi, #142.

⁹⁰ *Edin. Recs.* (1589-1603), 97-98.

The ‘goodman of North Berwick’, who had served the 1594-5 term, was again chosen provost in October 1595 and again refused it.⁹¹ In this instance the town sent John Arnott, Nicoll Uddart, and Robert Bruce, one of the burgh’s ministers, to persuade Home to accept and was ready to ask the king’s assistance in forcing Home to execute his office. English agent George Nicolson’s explanation of the town’s actions was that ‘[Home] is seen to the town to be wise and conformable to them and to have such favour at the King’s hands as may stead the town’.⁹² Home was re-elected as provost in the Michaelmas 1596 elections although how active a role he played is unclear as he was ill from December 1596 and was buried on 27 July 1597.⁹³ Council elections of 1597 were delayed until James, who was likely at Falkland,⁹⁴ returned to Edinburgh, at which time Nicolson’s opinion was that James would impose a nobleman as provost.⁹⁵ The Protestant riot in December 1596 and the town’s long delay in returning to the king’s good graces, all of which will be discussed in more detail later in this chapter, were undoubtedly foremost in the town’s minds with regard to the upcoming elections. James did indeed enact a form of retaliation upon the town by imposing Alexander Seton, Lord Fyvie (the future earl of Dunfermline and chancellor of Scotland) as provost in the elections of 1598, although Nicolson was quick to point out that the remaining officers were all townsmen.⁹⁶

Conflict

Although the crown used Edinburgh for many financial purposes, the town also contained an unstable element that allowed for the possibility of revolt and rebellion. Clearly the town council had difficulty accepting what they saw as a loss of their ancient privileges as a royal burgh: primarily the right to choose their own councils and provosts. Tensions between burgh and court seesawed throughout the sixteenth century. More often than not, the more explosive disruptions involving the burgh’s inhabitants were led, or at least influenced, by Edinburgh’s ministers. While the town

⁹¹ *Edin. Recs.* (1589-1603), 121, 139.

⁹² *CSP Scot.*, xii, nos.30, 38.

⁹³ *Edin. Recs.* (1589-1603), 163.

⁹⁴ *CSP Scot.*, xiii, no.53.

⁹⁵ *CSP Scot.*, xiii, no.100. Unfortunately, the accounts do not appear to list the names of those who were elected to the council in October 1597.

⁹⁶ *CSP Scot.*, xiii, no.256. Fyvie remained as provost in 1599.

council had a relatively stable relationship with the crown, the king's dealings with Edinburgh's Protestant ministers were anything but stable.

One early example of tensions between Edinburgh and the crown occurred on 6 June 1584 when a number of burgesses were 'charged off the toun, and discharged to come near the King under the paine of death'. What is interesting to note is that several of those ordered to leave were either past or present royal household servants or providers: Gilbert Primrose (master surgeon from November 1576-1603), John Harlaw (master saddler 1576-1578), Andrew Napier (merchant) and Henry White (cordiner 1568-1595).⁹⁷ They were not asked to leave because they were court servitors but rather as a result of their radical policies. It has been suggested that their appointments to the royal household, in the first place, had been religiously influenced.⁹⁸

Tensions over religious conflict led to a riot in Edinburgh on 17 December 1596. For years Edinburgh ministers had involved themselves heavily in burgh affairs, such as lobbying to suspend trade with Spain, regulating Edinburgh markets and interfering in English affairs.⁹⁹ In September 1596, Andrew Melville, who was not an Edinburgh minister, lectured 'God's silly vassal' on his subordination to the church¹⁰⁰ and in December church commissioners insisted on constant attendance on the king for fear he would alter religion.¹⁰¹ In response, the government took action against the commissioners of the assembly, which included their banishment from Edinburgh, submission to the council's accusations of sedition, and the prohibition of speeches against the king and his council.

The tensions in late-1596 were not solely a result of problems between the king and ministers. James's economic advisors, the Octavians, had made a number of enemies through their draconian practices and it was a group of these men who acted as a catalyst for the events. A number of influential courtiers, namely Sir George Home, Sir David Murray of Gospertie (Lord Scone and Viscount Stormont), Sir Patrick Murray (his brother) and Sir Robert Melville, younger, sought to create problems between the Octavians and the kirk in mid-December 1596. They first

⁹⁷ Calderwood, viii, appendix: 122.

⁹⁸ Thanks to Michael Lynch for pointing this out to me: Lynch, *Reformation*, appendix.

⁹⁹ Donaldson, *Scotland*, 194.

¹⁰⁰ Melville, *Diary*, 370-1.

¹⁰¹ Donaldson, *Scotland*, 195.

approached the ministers with the assurance that, if not stopped, the Octavians would alter the estate of religion, that they were influential in the return of the popish lords, and that Seton, Elphinstone, Hamilton and Secretary Lindsay were papists themselves. They then sent word to the Octavians that the Scottish kirk viewed them as ‘accusers of the ministrie’ and responsible for the return of the popish lords. Meanwhile, two rumours were started: the rumour in the town stated that the king had not answered the ministers; the rumour in the Tolbooth stated that the town was in arms. The result was that some of Edinburgh’s citizens, armoured, thinking the king had been abducted in the Tolbooth ran there, the others, thinking that some of the ministry were slain, ran to St Giles’.¹⁰²

The king, frightened by the riot, held Edinburgh’s ministers and citizens responsible for the action. James, who had not taken well to the Octavians’ suggestion of removing from him the counsellors who had caused him to recall the popish lords ‘to the perrell of the kirk, his owne estat, and the estat of the countrie’, withdrew from Edinburgh. His initial response was to move himself, his household and the law court to Linlithgow where he began to assemble his forces.¹⁰³ Edinburgh, fearing the king’s anger, made great strides to reclaim his favour. They directed commissioners to Linlithgow with apologies and proclamations of their innocence, all of which was done in vain. Although James and his council were aware of the innocence of a majority of the town, they threatened to remove the law courts and to leave the town unprotected from thieves and troublemakers. This fear caused the town to offer ‘to putt all in the king’s will, both concerning kirk and policie, to save their goods, and promised that their ministers sould not be suffered to preache to them till they be reconciled with the king’.¹⁰⁴ The town was willing to go to any lengths in order to ‘[pacify] his hienes wrayth consavet aganis’ the burgh.¹⁰⁵ At the start of January 1597, Edinburgh’s officers prepared silver gilded keys to present to the king. After the town was secured under the guardianship of the earl of Mar at the West Port, Lord Seton at the Netherbow, and Lord Ochiltree and other noblemen guarding the streets, James entered the town and proceeded to St Giles’ for a sermon delivered by

¹⁰² Calderwood, .v, 510-13.

¹⁰³ *CSP Scot.*, xii, no.314.

¹⁰⁴ Calderwood, v, 530-31; Calderwood, viii, appendix: 45.

¹⁰⁵ *Edin. Recs.* (1589-1603), 174.

David Lindsay.¹⁰⁶ Several days later, the privy council ordered the town council to try ‘by examination, warding, torture or other manner of advice’ all those who were involved in the ‘uproar and insurrection’.¹⁰⁷

The town of Edinburgh was accused of treason by the convention at Perth on 28 February 1597. The baillies, council and honest men of Edinburgh travelled to Perth where they remained until 7 March, but as they could not come to an agreement with the king, their process was delayed until the king’s return to Holyroodhouse.¹⁰⁸ James, to show his displeasure with the town warned that they would be put to the horn if they did not render themselves to his will. Three days later, on 10 March, a proclamation was made in Edinburgh in which the king and council put the entire community of Edinburgh to the horn, apparently ‘invented be the treachery of ane of the octavian namilie Mr John Lyndsay of Menmuir’.¹⁰⁹ James claimed three reasons for his discontent: non-apprehension of the leaders of the 17 December riot; failure to commit James Balfour to ward when he was in their hands; and because one of their baillies, William Maule, had not appeared with the others at Perth.¹¹⁰

The final stages of this conflict began on 22 March when the town’s inhabitants went to Holyroodhouse, knelt before the king and agreed that they ‘had offended his majestie in 3 pointis as the king desyred and offered to gef to him twenty thowsand markis for that effenes’.¹¹¹ James accepted on four conditions: he wanted absolute use of the ministers’ house in the kirkyard; the town council house was to be made patent to the exchequer; 20,000 merks were to be assigned to the furnishing of the king’s house, paid in four monthly instalments of 5,000 merks; and that none of the ordinary ministers, now denounced as rebels, be admitted to serve in the town hereafter.¹¹² James, not one to pass up any opportunity to collect money (especially 20,000 merks), deleted the threat of horning. The following morning James went to Edinburgh’s council house where he ratified his favour towards the town and toasted the council as ‘his looving gessoyiks,’ after which the town rang the bells and escorted the king, who was headed to Dumfries, as far as the West Port with ‘violls

¹⁰⁶ *CSP Scot.*, xii, no.327.

¹⁰⁷ *CSP Scot.*, xii, no.329.

¹⁰⁸ Johnston, *History*, insert between fos.629-630.

¹⁰⁹ Johnston, *History*, insert between fos.629-630; *CSP Scot.*, xii, no.390.

¹¹⁰ Calderwood, v, 624-25.

¹¹¹ Johnston, *History*, insert between fos.629-630.

¹¹² *CSP Scot.*, xii, no.396.

and sounding trumpets befoir with mikill grit mirth'.¹¹³ James returned to Edinburgh in April and was banqueted in Robert Bruce's house at which 'thair war very grit mirriness and drinking with many instrumentis of musik playing and the haill bells ringing to the countentment baith of the king and pepill'.¹¹⁴

Another conflict surrounded a group of English comedians who had arrived in Scotland in October 1599. After performing comedies for the king, they attempted to purchase a house within Edinburgh. On 12 November they announced, with trumpets and drums, the performance of their comedies in Blackfriar's Wynd. Edinburgh's ministers, fearing profanities, proclaimed an act 'that none resort to these profane comedeis, for eshewing offence of God, and of evill exemple to others'. James viewed this as a personal attack, as he had arranged for the comedians to have housing in Edinburgh, and summoned the ministers and kirk session before the privy council, which resulted in arguments over the reasons why a house was provided. When Robert Bruce suggested that acts of parliament could be used to stop the plays, an angered king answered: 'Yee are not the interpreters of my lawes'. Bruce attempted to strengthen his stance by professing a 'reverent respect' for the king and queen and claiming the comedians 'in their playes, checked your royall person with secreit and indirect taunts and checkes; and there is not a man of honour in England would give such fellowes so much as their countenance'.¹¹⁵ If the closing comments of Bruce are correct, then the English comedians at issue were the same as those mentioned in a letter sent in April 1598 from Nicolson to Lord Burghley. Nicolson, apparently, was upset by information from Edinburgh's provost, Robert Arnott, that the 'comedians of London' scorned the king and people of Scotland in their play. He expressed his desire that the situation be 'speedily amended' and stopped before the king and people of Scotland were 'stirred' to anger.¹¹⁶

Although there were occasional flash points, relations between court and town were exceedingly cordial. Indeed, James developed an association with the town that was financially beneficial to the crown. Although he was quick to punish the town, as can be seen from his reactions to the Edinburgh riot, and followed through, albeit

¹¹³ Johnston, *History*, insert between fos.629-630.

¹¹⁴ Johnston, *History*, insert between fos.629-630; Calderwood, v, 624-25.

¹¹⁵ Calderwood, v, 765-66.

¹¹⁶ *CSP Scot.*, xiii, no.142.

nominally, on his threats of horning, the end result was that both sides were aware of the limits to which they could push the other, and held to them.

Loans and Taxation

James, who was habitually low on funds, often found himself in the position of borrowing money from various sources. One of his most easily accessible sources was Edinburgh's town council. On 17 July 1579, the king sent word to the council asking for £5,000 to be advanced and loaned to his treasurer and comptroller who were superexpended in the king's affairs. Mungo Graham, the king's master household who presented the request, was asked to inform James that the request needed to be discussed amongst all of those providing the money, which would be done within eight days, and that a written answer would be forthcoming.¹¹⁷

On 21 February 1580, the Lord Provost stated that the king 'haifand presentlie ado with money' desired to borrow a further £20,000 from the town.¹¹⁸ The council, however, was not always willing, or able, to lend the money requested. On this occasion, members of the council went to the king and explained that, due to hardships the town had suffered during the civil war, they would have to decline:

the grit traweill, panis, chairges, and expenssis, what hasairt of thair lyffes, los of thair guidis, burning and destroying of the toun, sustenit sen his Grace first coronatioun ...lamenting alsua thair present estait and powertie ...[and desired James].. to except thair seruice in thair bodeis, handis, and guidis at thair powar ...that his Grace may be content with this ansuer, and the towne nocht chairgeit with the said sowme quhilk is far aboue thair powar and substance.'¹¹⁹

But the administration of Esmé Stewart was not one to relent easily when dealing with monetary issues and a month later, on 15 March, 10,000 merks were requested for the common affairs of the king and the realm, to which the council agreed.¹²⁰ Council agreement did not necessarily mean that the inhabitants of the town agreed. In late May 1580, many of the inhabitants refused to pay their portions of the 10,000 merks and were charged to do so under threat of warding and impounding of goods. Some

¹¹⁷ Edin. Min., v, fo.149v.

¹¹⁸ *Edin. Recs.* (1573-1589), 198.

¹¹⁹ *Edin. Recs.* (1573-1589), 198-99.

¹²⁰ *Edin. Recs.* (1573-1589), 200.

of the more influential dissenters, such as John Provand and his wife, John Dougal, elder, William Strang and Robert Abercrombie, were set as examples to others.¹²¹

Edinburgh often found itself in financial hardships because of the constant demands made upon it by the king. In April 1584, the council stated that the common rent of the burgh was far superexpended. The burgh had run into great debt through 'the kingis grace service and commoun effairis of the town', the charges associated with 500 'neighbours' who were appointed to escort the king to Stirling, and expenses associated with outfitting and furnishing of necessities which were 'laire and sumptuous'. Furthermore, the town was already in debt to Andrew Lamb in Leith for 1,000 merks and Alexander Beaton, archdean of Lothian, for £500. Therefore, the decision was that £5,000 should be uplifted and raised of the burgesses and inhabitants.¹²² By the following month, the council had advanced to the king the above sum. Again, there were some men of substance who had not contributed and it was decided that another extent of £4,000 would be uplifted.¹²³ This second extent would appear to have been raised in order to refund those who contributed to the first £5,000. James again asked for money from the town in late November 1586: £8,000 to be used by ambassadors sent to England to preserve the king's mother 'quhais lyfe wes in greitt jeopardie at this present'. The town agreed to provide money, but only half the amount requested, to be taken upon the common good of the burgh.¹²⁴

In addition to actual money lending, the king frequently called upon the town to provide funding for varied occasions. In May 1586, four Edinburgh councillors were chosen to join commissioners from the other burghs in order to answer the king's demands that the burghs cover the costs of sending an ambassador to Denmark.¹²⁵ A year later, in April 1587, Edinburgh sent representatives to the king to report approval of the tax. They were quick to point out that the only answer they received from the seven or eight principal burghs they had contacted about the tax was a letter from Perth with 'ane uncertane ansuer', and a commissioner from Dundee who claimed he could not give an answer. Therefore, the representatives requested that the king keep the expenses as low as possible and provide security for repayment.

¹²¹ *Edin. Recs.* (1573-1589), 202. In June 1580, Provand, who was to pay 400 merks as his portion, had his assessment reduced: *Edin. Min.*, vi, fo.139r.

¹²² *Edin. Min.*, vii, fo.85r.

¹²³ *Edin. Min.*, vii, fo.87v.

¹²⁴ *Edin. Recs.* (1573-1589), 478.

¹²⁵ *Edin. Min.*, viii, fo.11v; *Edin. Recs.* (1573-1589), 458.

It was agreed by the town several days later to advance the sum of £2,000 to the king's ambassadors for the costs of their shipping and food, 1,000 merks of which was provided by William Wallar and 2,000 merks from John Andrew, writer.¹²⁶ In September 1587, the king again requested, and received, money from the town, in this instance only 100 crowns 'for avanceing of his Graces honorabill effaires' which included, according to the accounts of 1587-8, velvet saddles to be propined to a councillor of the king of Navarre.¹²⁷ Furthermore, James was loaned £4,000 for his ambassadors to England, and 400 merks for a gift to Seigneur du Bartas.¹²⁸

Monetary difficulties resulting from the king's demands forced the council to impose additional taxations upon their inhabitants. One example of this occurred in January 1589, at which time the council ordered a general taxation to cover assorted payments: 3,500 merks for the expenses of 300 men of war called up the previous August; £320 'for the raid of Dumfries' and an additional £215 for powder and bullets; £333 6s 8d for the charges of the duke of Lennox's two sisters; and £1,906 13s 4d for the town's part of the burghs' extent for the king's wines and customs.¹²⁹ It is no surprise that, faced with bills in excess of £5,000, the council found it necessary to impose additional taxation upon its inhabitants, as occurred in January 1589.

On 29 May 1589, the king requested 2,000 merks from the town to cover expenses of John Skene, advocate, in his travels to Denmark with Earl Marischal to finalise the king's marriage. The town agreed to the sum and decided to send William Fowler, parson of Hawick, with Skene and Marischal to attend upon anything that may occur concerning the burghs.¹³⁰ The arrival of Anna involved more outgoing funds for the town. The Scottish burghs granted a tax of £20,000 in September 1589,¹³¹ in order to cover the many expenses expected with the forthcoming arrival of the new queen and the honourable assembly of Danes accompanying her. Each burgh was to deliver the money to Edinburgh burgess James Dalzell who had been

¹²⁶ *Edin. Recs.* (1573-1589), 491-2; *Edin. TA* (1581-96), fo.449; *Edin. Min.*, viii, fo.91r.

¹²⁷ *Edin. Recs.* (1573-1589), 500.

¹²⁸ *Edin. TA* (1581-96), fo.449.

¹²⁹ *Edin. Recs.* (1573-1589), 536.

¹³⁰ *Edin. Recs.* (1573-1589), 543-44

¹³¹ J. Goodare, 'Parliamentary Taxation', 23-52.

appointed as collector general.¹³² Additionally in March 1591, the council, at the king's request, consented to advance and pay to the queen the sum of 3,000 merks.¹³³

In late-March 1603, James began preparations for his journey to London. Not surprisingly, he was in need of some instant hard cash to outfit himself for the journey. James asked for an advancement of cash from the town, which 'thai of thair dewtie can nocht refuse in sic a necessar tyme'. They agreed to loan as much 'as thai can guidlie obtein fra onye particular persones',¹³⁴ which was 10,000 merks.¹³⁵ James displayed his gratitude with a confirmation, the 'Golden Charter', which confirmed the town with all its ancient privileges and freedom as a royal burgh, as well as its superiority and jurisdiction over Leith and Newhaven.¹³⁶

James and Anna spent much more than they ever had in the royal coffers, yet the king did, on occasion, repay his debts to the town. One of the first instances of this was in April 1584 when Provost Clark received from John Gibb, one of the king's valets, a gold tablet with a diamond and emerald in a case in pledge for £4,000 loaned by the burgh.¹³⁷ In April 1586, James sent a message ordering Alexander Clerk of Balbirny, the collector general of the £20,000 taxation, to pay the burgh 3,000 merks; two-thirds of which was repayment for money delivered to the late George, Lord Seton when he travelled to France, and one-third for two companies of footmen that passed to Annandale under the laird of Johnston's command. James closed his message with the comment that he and his council 'committet faythfully to caus repay the foresaid sowmes and the sam sall be allowet to yow in your comptis kepan and this present for your warrand'.¹³⁸ Another example of repayment occurred in August 1590, when the burgh treasurer received 20,000 'dollars' of the king's money which was then distributed to various burgh merchants.¹³⁹

James may not have immediately repaid all of his debts, but he knew better than to ignore repayment altogether. Edinburgh was vital to the court and its

¹³² *Papers Relative to Marriage*, appendix i: 5.

¹³³ *Edin. Min.*, ix, fo.140v.

¹³⁴ *Edin. Recs.* (1589-1603), 318.

¹³⁵ *Edin. Min.*, xi, fo.230. On 20 April 1603, John Morrison, baillie, produced the king's obligation for 10,000 merks.

¹³⁶ *Edin. Recs.* (1589-1603), 320. Holyroodhouse, 15 March 1603.

¹³⁷ *Edin. Recs.* (1573-1589), 336.

¹³⁸ *Edin. Min.*, viii, fo.6r.

¹³⁹ *Edin. Recs.* (1589-1603), 24.

activities, and the king was well aware of this fact. As will be seen below, the town financed a large number of court activities. James could not afford to alienate them.

Court Expenditures

Interference in burgh government and politics was a well-established, and well-documented, royal activity. The imposition of crown-approved provosts, interference in burgh council elections, and requests for monetary assistance are frequently mentioned in documents and contemporary accounts. But in the reign of James VI, Edinburgh's position as the capital of Scotland became even more important. Faced with an impecunious royal court, the town assumed an active role in a variety of court-related activities. James, not satisfied with receiving a multitude of large 'loans' from Edinburgh, often called upon the town to cover various minor expenses of the court. When added together, these 'minor' expenses become sizeable sums. Nonetheless, the king seems to have had better luck in getting the town's approval when making small requests than he did with his larger demands. Royal entries were traditionally financed by the burgh, although responsibilities related to the visits of foreign dignitaries and preparations for hasty royal voyages to Norway to rescue royal brides were not expenditures normally expected by a capital. As will be seen, Edinburgh provided the king with everything ranging from wine for his wine cellars to a much-needed guard around the king himself.

Assorted Expenditures for James VI

In July 1583, a letter was directed from the town to John Thomson in St Andrews which required him to deliver to the king's sommelier, Jerome Bowie, two tuns of wine, which would be paid for by the town.¹⁴⁰ Months later, in January 1584, James Nicoll was sent to Leith to give Bowie the 'best and readiest' wines for the king's use 'provyding he exceid nocht the number of threttie twyn'.¹⁴¹ In January 1585, the town ordained that half a tun of wine be received from Agnes Crawford and John Dobie for the price of £43, and another half tun from the wife of Luke Wilson, both to be

¹⁴⁰ *Edin. Recs.* (1573-1589), 283.

¹⁴¹ *Edin. Min.*, vii, fo.68r.

delivered to the king's sommelier in part payment of the 30 tuns mentioned in the tack of the king's customs for that year.¹⁴² Another tun of wine was received from George Alexander, for the sum of £46, and delivered to the king, again as part of the above customs.¹⁴³ Two years later, Edinburgh merchants and all importers of wines 'recently arrived from Bordeaux' were ordered to Leith to provide the king's sommelier with whatever quantity of their wines that was found expedient.¹⁴⁴ The following year, January 1588, three burgesses were given the burden of overseeing royal delivery of 15 tuns of Bordeaux from locally-owned stock due to arrive from France.¹⁴⁵

The town made annual payments of New Year's gifts to the king's porters. On 8 January 1582, John Boag, keeper of the king's great gate, was given two crowns whilst the two porters of the inner gates, Nisbet and Marrow, were each given two 30s pieces.¹⁴⁶ The following year, the town gave, in New Year's gifts, a total of £15 12s 8d to the ordinary servants of the king's house and porters of the burgh.¹⁴⁷ In January 1584, James Ross, town treasurer, recorded a receipt for two crowns (£4 15s) to John Boag, 30s to his servant, and another 30s to the porter of the inner gate.¹⁴⁸ The town treasurer was directed in January 1587 to give the king's porters the following sums in New Year's gifts: John Boag, two crowns; John Nisbet, keeper of the hall door, 30s; John Boag's servant, 30s; and [David] Lennox, at the iron gate, 30s.¹⁴⁹ These gifts were repeated the following year, and again in March 1589.¹⁵⁰ Payments were given only to the king's porter (two crowns at 58s each) and his servant in the 1590-1 accounts.¹⁵¹ The total paid by the town to the king's porters for their New Year's duty in January 1594 was £11.¹⁵² There were also payments, the reason for which is unclear, in September 1594 and June 1595.¹⁵³ Another gift, this one for three crowns

¹⁴² Edin. Min., vii, fo.222r.

¹⁴³ Edin. Min., vii, fo.223v.

¹⁴⁴ Edin. Min., viii, fo.138r.

¹⁴⁵ Edin. Min., viii, fo.196r.

¹⁴⁶ Edin. TA (1581-96), fo.77.

¹⁴⁷ Edin. TA (1581-96), fo.125.

¹⁴⁸ Edin. Min., vii, fo.154v; Edin. TA (1581-96), fo.211.

¹⁴⁹ Edin. Min., viii, fo.134v.

¹⁵⁰ Edin. Min., viii, fo.195r; Edin. Min., ix, fo.34r.

¹⁵¹ Edin. TA (1581-96), fo.633.

¹⁵² Edin. Min., x, fo.110.

¹⁵³ Edin. TA (1581-96), fos.867, 932.

and a 40s piece, to the king's porters was recorded on 27 April 1599.¹⁵⁴ This continued in 1601 and 1602 with payments amounting to £10.¹⁵⁵

A varied assortment of items was required for the many, and diverse, occasions involving James that occurred in town. One such example was a payment from 12 November 1583 for half an ell of taffeta when the king came to the town, although what this was used for is unclear.¹⁵⁶ In April 1584, the town covered the cost of 30 torches bought to escort the king from the town to Holyroodhouse following a banquet hosted by Earl Bothwell in celebration of the baptism of the earl's child.¹⁵⁷ Another cost covered by the town was for expenses made upon velvet feather cushions to Ambassador and Lady Bowes in the loft of St Giles', where they sat for sermons.¹⁵⁸ The cushions were made of tawny velvet, decorated with silk tassels, and seamed with lace at a total cost of £27 2s 4d. Another velvet feather cushion (£16 10s) was made to lay before the provost.¹⁵⁹ In April 1597, the council was informed that the king intended to dine with the town in the ministers' lodgings, for which the treasurer was ordered to make all necessary provisions.¹⁶⁰

The outfitting of ambassadors would also appear to have been a favoured royal theme when searching for outside funding. In November 1583, Lord Seton delivered a letter from the king requiring the town council to transport Seton to France, and back, in Andrew Lamb's ship, and requested that someone travel with Seton to deal with the matter of customs.¹⁶¹ Edinburgh's provost, baillies and council, together with commissioners from Perth, Dundee and Aberdeen, chose to send someone with instructions 'to procure and attend upon the downgetting of the new customes'.¹⁶² Several years later, in May 1586, the town stated that the king owed 2,000 merks for the outfitting of Lord Seton as ambassador to France, a sum that had been paid entirely by Edinburgh, along with 1,000 merks advanced to the laird of Johnston 'according to the king's precept'.¹⁶³

¹⁵⁴ Edin. TA (1596-1612), fo.183.

¹⁵⁵ Edin. TA (1596-1612), fos.319, 382.

¹⁵⁶ Edin. TA (1581-96), fo.135.

¹⁵⁷ *Edin. Recs.* (1573-1589), 332.

¹⁵⁸ *Edin. Recs.* (1589-1603), 66.

¹⁵⁹ *Edin. Recs.* (1589-1603), appendix xiiii (Gild Accounts, 482).

¹⁶⁰ *Edin. Recs.* (1589-1603), 186.

¹⁶¹ *Edin. Recs.* (1573-1589), 307.

¹⁶² *Edin. Recs.* (1573-1589), 307-8.

¹⁶³ Edin. Min., viii, fo.12r.

Edinburgh was also the scene of the king's 'love feast': James's attempt to curb feuding at court by making all of his feuding nobles agree to a peace. Gathered together on account of the convention at Holyroodhouse in May 1587, and following a drunken banquet, James escorted his nobles, hand in hand, from Holyroodhouse to Edinburgh's mercat cross, to continue the festivities.¹⁶⁴ Edinburgh burgess Robert Birrell recalled that they

satt all down at ane lang table, where the city made them a very sumptuous feast and banquet at quhilk tyme there was such joy and solemnity with mutual salutations of good will one to another, his Majesty drinking peace and happyness to them all, that the like was never seen before in Edinburgh.¹⁶⁵

The council records show expenses of £33 10s 8d made upon this banquet at which 'his Majestie agreitt his said nobility'.¹⁶⁶

The town, not surprisingly, covered many expenses associated with parliaments that were held in Edinburgh. A typical example is found in the accounts covering the parliament of July 1587 which included the cost of two dozen planks, the associated cost of bringing them out of Leith and laying them in the kirk, 200 flooring nails, and payments to workmen and carpenters who laboured in the Tolbooth.¹⁶⁷ The town also covered the costs of carrying the royal tapestries up from Holyroodhouse when parliament, and various statutes, were proclaimed at the mercat cross.¹⁶⁸ In a similar vein, a local craftsman, Gilmour, was paid to hang the tapestries upon the cross when the acts of parliament were proclaimed.¹⁶⁹

Several accounts detail payments associated with banquets or other functions to honour the king. In March 1596, the council prepared a special dessert for the king as part of an unspecified function in the council house. The expenses for this occasion included £30 6s to the sugarman for his dessert, £26 8s for wine and ale, and £3 for borrowed vessels and 'weshin naprie'.¹⁷⁰ The following month, the council prepared a supper for the king: £64 18s for purchases of 'flesh, wild meat and stores', a barrel of ale, wax and other candles; £33 6s to the sugarman for his dessert; £13 10s

¹⁶⁴ Lynch, 'Court Ceremony', 83.

¹⁶⁵ Birrell, 'Diary', fo.28v.

¹⁶⁶ *Edin. Recs.* (1573-1589), 492.

¹⁶⁷ *Edin. TA* (1581-96), fos.366-67.

¹⁶⁸ *Edin. TA* (1581-96), fo.635.

¹⁶⁹ *Edin. TA* (1581-96), fo.785.

¹⁷⁰ *Edin. TA* (1596-1612), fo.58.

to Mungo Ross for his ‘potasrie’; £50 for wine and beer; £6 for six quarters of ‘gallok wyne’; £3 10s for the loan of vessels; and 13s 4d for the washing of linens.¹⁷¹ Several years later, in an entry from May 1602, a payment was noted to a man who shot two swans in the loch for the king’s banquet.¹⁷²

On 11 August 1600, following the Gowrie conspiracy, James crossed the Forth on his return to Edinburgh from Falkland:

The Town with the haill suburbs mett him upon the sands of Leith in arms with great joy and shooting of muskets and shaking of pikes... the town of Edinburgh having conveyit him up to Edinburgh and standing at the highgate, his majesty past to the cross, the cross being hung with tapestry and went up thereon, with his nobles.¹⁷³

Patrick Galloway declared the ‘circumstances of the treason’ to ‘whilk the king testified be his awn mouth sitting upon the cross all the tyme of the sermon’.¹⁷⁴ The town went to considerable lengths to show their support for the king. Expenses included payments to sweschours, who proclaimed at Leith the plans to meet the king on his arrival from Falkland, to six torch bearers who passed ahead of the ‘yonkeiris’ the night of the bonfires, to six workmen who cleaned the ‘stains and filth’ from the cross the day of the king’s arrival from Falkland, and to the men who carried the tapestry to the cross and home again.¹⁷⁵ Furthermore, the town took charge of the bodies of the earl of Gowrie and his brother. Payments were made to the men of Leith and Edinburgh officials who brought the bodies up from Leith, and to those who provided a lock for the door under the Tolbooth stair where the corpses were kept. Four workmen were paid to transport, back and forth, the corpses of the earl and his brother during the sitting of parliament; an apothecary was reimbursed for nine incense candles burnt upon the corpses (undoubtedly they were in quite a serious state of decay by this time); and on 11 February 1601, Adam Shaw was paid for candles used while guarding the corpses.¹⁷⁶

The town was very aware of its close connection to the king and often made a point of courting the king’s good will. One example was the case of the ‘rob royall’.

¹⁷¹ Edin. TA (1596-1612), fos.58-59.

¹⁷² Edin. TA (1596-1612), fo.381.

¹⁷³ Birrell, ‘Diary’, fo.35r. It had been ordered on 8 August that the entire town meet the king in Leith arrayed in their best armour, or face a fine of £20: Edin. Min., xi, fo.2; *Edin. Recs.* (1589-1603), 270.

¹⁷⁴ Birrell, ‘Diary’, fo.35r.

¹⁷⁵ Edin. TA (1596-1612), fos.269, 270. Sweschours were public criers / drummers and ‘yonkeiris’ is simply a term for youngsters.

¹⁷⁶ Edin. TA (1596-1612), fos.271, 318, 319.

Henry Nisbet ordered that a ‘rob royall’ made of cloth of silver, embroidered with gold and the order of the French cockerel not be delivered to anybody until the king’s desire was known.¹⁷⁷ What eventually became of this robe is unknown, but the town’s desire not to upset the king is clear by the care in ensuring the royal wishes were followed.

Finally, there are payments associated with James’s accession to the English throne. Edinburgh’s mercat cross was cleaned, some of the king’s servants were paid to bear the tapestry at his proclamation as king of England, and scaffolding was erected.¹⁷⁸ The town also distributed £23 9s 2d (sterling) in October 1604 to John Hay in complete payment of his expenses in his journey to England. He was then allowed £20 (sterling) to make a second journey.¹⁷⁹

It is important to remember that it was not just the king who had connections with Edinburgh. Granted, only James seemed to have been able, so easily, to obtain unlimited credit with so little hope of repayment. Although a great many debts did pertain to the king, many bills owed to Edinburgh merchants by royal servants may have been of a personal nature. Royal ‘comptrolleris and sumelairis’ owed Hector McMath £405 for wine in 1581 and 1582 ‘according to the tounis pryce’ and ‘Jerome Bowwis tikkettis of receipt’. Another example was Alexander Millar, the king’s tailor, who owed £224 6s 7d, on obligation, to Thomas Wright in 1598.¹⁸⁰

Entry of James VI, October 1579

James made his official entry into Edinburgh, ‘the first parliament toune of his countrey quher the nobles and senators of the Colledge of justice makes there cheaf’,¹⁸¹ on Friday, 17 October 1579. As a description of his entry has been given, the purpose here is to analyse the role of the town and the preparations that it undertook to organise and finance the festivities. The triumph was a group effort in which several of the crafts (bakers, fleshers, tailors, skimmers, furriers, embroiderers, bonnet makers and wrights) were given a say in the preparations. Plans for the entry

¹⁷⁷ *Edin. Recs.* (1573-1589), 393.

¹⁷⁸ *Edin. TA* (1596-1612), fo.449.

¹⁷⁹ *Edin. TA* (1596-1612), fo.529. £23 9s 2d sterling = £289 10s Scots, £20 sterling = £240 Scots.

¹⁸⁰ Sanderson, ‘Edinburgh Merchants’, 196.

¹⁸¹ *Adv. MS 31.6.10*, fos.92r-93r.

and the gift presented by the town to the young king commenced at two in the afternoon on 27 August, with representatives of the council, merchants and crafts.¹⁸²

Robert Hewison and Robert Kerr were chosen to ‘speik the Frencheman, using William Stewart for his opinion in devyse of the triumphe agane the Kingis heir cuming’.¹⁸³ Three councillors were chosen to visit the master of the high school and report back on the tragedies that would be performed by the children at the entry.¹⁸⁴

Early preparations for James’s entry differ from the preparations for his mother’s triumph in September 1561, which began a week after her return to Scotland and one week before her official entry was staged. It has been suggested that this delay in preparation was due to the council’s desire to coordinate the festivities with the queen herself.¹⁸⁵ Obviously, the situation with the young king’s entry was different. Firstly, he was still only a child and would not be expected to take an active role in planning his entry. And secondly, he and his courtiers were living in Scotland and thus could easily be consulted at any time prior to the entry itself.

Dressed in black gowns, 32 of Edinburgh’s magistrates received the king and carried a canopy of fine purple velvet under which he rode to the abbey.¹⁸⁶ These men were accompanied by the provost, baillies, treasurer and dean of guild who rode with footmantles while the rest of the council and ‘honest men’ of the town, about 300, were dressed in velvet, satin and silks.¹⁸⁷

The town was anxious to present its best face to the royal court and the young king. It was declared: ‘for decoration of this burgh, it behovis certan honest nychtbouris to be honestlie apparrellit in clothing agane that tyme’. More specifically, all merchants ‘as ar extented to ten li., or above’ were to have a gown of fine ‘blak chamlett of silk of cierge, barrit with veluous efferand to his substance’, and all those ‘extented aboue saxtene li. to have thair govnis of the lyke stuff, the breistis thairof lynit with veluous and begaireit thairwith, with cotis of veluous, damest, or satene’.¹⁸⁸ The town was quite specific about what its representatives should wear at the entry. Archibald Graham, the town’s macer, was given a gown of fine black

¹⁸² Edin. Min., v, fo.156r.

¹⁸³ *Edin. Recs.* (1573-1589), 117.

¹⁸⁴ *Edin. Recs.* (1573-1589), 114-15.

¹⁸⁵ A.R. MacDonald, ‘The Triumph of Protestantism: the burgh council of Edinburgh and the entry of Mary Queen of Scots, 2 September 1561’, *IR*, xlviii (1997), 74.

¹⁸⁶ Johnston, *History*, fos.524r-v; Edin. Min., v, fo.166v.

¹⁸⁷ Calderwood, iii, 458-459.

¹⁸⁸ *Edin. Recs.* (1573-1589), 115.

‘begareit with twa baouris of weluous, and the breistis thairof lynit with satene, ane doublett of blak satene, ane pair of blak hois begareit with veluott, and ane tafatie hatt of veluous bonett’.¹⁸⁹ Each of the 13 town officers had, as liveries, three ells of black English woollen for their hose, six quarters of ‘rowane’ canvas for doublets, a black hat with a white string, and one merk to supply their own ‘pasments’, or decorative edgings.¹⁹⁰ Each of the 32 men appointed to bear the king’s canopy was charged to prepare, within eight days, either a gown of fine black, ‘barrit’ with velvet, the breasts lined with velvet, or a gown of fine silk ‘chamlott’, grosgrain or serge, ‘barrit’ with velvet, with velvet coats or doublets of satin, velvet or damask, and all were to have taffeta hats.¹⁹¹

Much construction took place to prepare for the king’s entry. In mid-September 1579 the dean of guild was ordered to make a loft in the east end of the kirk.¹⁹² A wall of blue velvet was ordered for the entry, which consisted of 17 ells of purple and was lined within by red taffeta.¹⁹³ The over and nether tolbooths were ordered to be washed with chalk,¹⁹⁴ and in early October, the town purchased timber for the Netherbow and other places ‘neidfull for decoring of the toune’.¹⁹⁵ Inhabitants with pigsties at their stairs or sidewalls, compost heaps, collections of filth, tar barrels, stones or timber on the High Street were to have them removed by a given date or face a £5 fine.¹⁹⁶ Beggars were also to be removed from the town. On 14 October, a proclamation was made throughout the burgh, by sound of ‘tabourin’, which commanded all inhabitants to hang their stairs with tapestry ‘and ares warkis’ the following Friday, and that no sources of fire be thrown by any person.¹⁹⁷ This was clearly accomplished without problem as Calderwood stated that the town had been decorated from the West Port to the Netherbow with tapestry, cards and painted panels.¹⁹⁸

¹⁸⁹ *Edin. Recs.* (1573-1589), 117.

¹⁹⁰ *Edin. Recs.* (1573-1589), 117.

¹⁹¹ *Edin. Recs.* (1573-1589), 122.

¹⁹² *Edin. Recs.* (1573-1589), 116.

¹⁹³ *Edin. Recs.* (1573-1589), 117.

¹⁹⁴ *Edin. Recs.* (1573-1589), 117.

¹⁹⁵ *Edin. Min.*, v, fo.165r.

¹⁹⁶ *Edin. Recs.* (1573-1589), 122.

¹⁹⁷ *Edin. Recs.* (1573-1589), 124.

¹⁹⁸ Calderwood, iii, 458-459.

Apart from preparations for the entry itself, plans were made for the gift which would be presented to the king from the town. On 20 August 1579, a cupboard of overgilt silver was ordered, containing the following: a basin and ‘ane lawer’ weighing 120 ounces; two eight-pound ‘flaketis’; six cups with covers, four 28-ounce-weight cups, and the other two 24-ounces; four 120-ounce ‘chandleris’; a 24-ounce salt cellar; a 20-ounce truncheon; and a dozen 10-ounce truncheons. These items were made by goldsmiths Edward Hart, Thomas Drummond, George Heriot, Adam Craig, and William Lockie. The town was to furnish the goldsmiths with a sufficient weight of silver, and the goldsmiths in return were paid 5s for the making and ‘ourgilding’ of every ounce.¹⁹⁹ The cupboard was paid for by a tax of £4,000 that the council agreed should be raised from the town craftsmen and merchants.²⁰⁰ Although it was undoubtedly meant to be presented to the king at the actual entry, the cupboard was not ready on time. According to David Moysie, the golden cupboard was presented to James on 22 October, the first day of the parliament, by the magistrates of the town.²⁰¹ The council was still discussing the gift seven days later: they ordered those assigned to oversee the making of the cupboard to assist one of the baillies in preparing the account and finding what remained to be paid.²⁰² That same day, it was ordered that 500 merks be paid to Edward Hart and the other goldsmiths.²⁰³

On the day after Mary’s official entry in 1561, the council minutes recorded that the total sum spent was in the region of 4,000 merks (£2,666 13s 4d). It was decided to levy a general tax on all ‘nychtbouris ... bayth merchant and craftismen’ for the whole sum.²⁰⁴ No further mention was made of the account until 27 November 1561 when the council admitted that they were ‘detbound to my lord erle of Mortoun, the laird of Lethingtoun and divers utheris for divers greit sowmes furnist to the banquet, copburde and triumphe’.²⁰⁵ In 1579, Edinburgh again had to raise a tax to cover the costs of James’s entry, of which the golden cupboard alone amounted to £4,000. However, it seems that the extraordinary costs of James’s triumph were

¹⁹⁹ *Edin. Recs.* (1573-1589), 113-14.

²⁰⁰ *Edin. Recs.* (1573-1589), 114.

²⁰¹ Moysie, *Memoirs*, 25.

²⁰² *Edin. Min.*, v, fo.170v.

²⁰³ *Edin. Min.*, v, fo.171r.

²⁰⁴ MacDonald, ‘Triumph of Protestantism’, 76-77.

²⁰⁵ MacDonald, ‘Triumph of Protestantism’, 77; *Edin. Recs.* (1557-1571), 119.

covered by Edinburgh's wealthy burgesses as no mention was ever made of being indebted to any noblemen or courtiers.

Expenses relating to the triumph appeared in the records for an extended period following the entry itself. At the end of November 1579, the auditors for the silver which had been disbursed in the entry were ordered to meet in the over clerk's chamber.²⁰⁶ A selection of late payments included £3 (daily wage) which was to be delivered to the violers and singers who stood above the Over Bow at the king's entry, of which both violers and singers were to receive 30s, and a payment of £6 6s 8d which was to be made to 19 men who acted as keepers of the gate, complete with halberds on the day of the entry.²⁰⁷ A final entry, from March 1582, noted that £108 13s 4d remained in the book of respond concerning the king's entry, which sum was discharged to James Adamson.²⁰⁸ Apart from the financial strains placed upon the burgh by preparing and hosting the triumph, they suffered a physical strain as well. The throng of people who crowded the streets to see the young king's entry resulted in a number of injuries to townsfolk.²⁰⁹ Doubtless all of this was a small price to pay for the honour and glory brought upon the town as a result of such an important and elaborate royal triumph.

Marriage of James VI and Anna of Denmark

The two most financially draining occasions of James's personal reign were his marriage to Anna of Denmark and the baptism of his son, Prince Henry. In both of these occasions the town of Edinburgh was called upon for financial support as well as the supply of provisions. The former constituted a greater demand as all events were to take place within Edinburgh and its port of Leith. Many plans were arranged early in September 1589 for Anna's expected arrival. Due to her delay and the king's subsequent rescue mission, plans were delayed and adapted, and unexpected expenditures added to the bill. Further arrangements were made throughout March and April 1590.

²⁰⁶ Edin. Min., v, fo.179v.

²⁰⁷ Edin. Min., v, fo.171r.

²⁰⁸ MS Edinburgh Council Records, 6 (1579-1583), fos.182r-v.

²⁰⁹ Calderwood, iii, 458-59.

In preparation for the queen's arrival, James, on 29 August 1589, requested that the town accept the costs of entertaining the queen and her entourage in Leith for a while, 'quhilk suld nocht be lang, seying his magesteis places of Halyruidhous wer nocht compleitt in the necessar reparaling theirof'. The town found it 'nocht meitt nor convenient' to accept the costs but, as they were well aware of their duty and the king's honour and pleasure, they granted James a loan of 5,000 merks.²¹⁰ A few days later, the burghs agreed to a tax of £20,000, to which every burgh was to contribute:

their mon be present reddy silver, in rediness for bying, outredding and furnissing of sic thingis as of necessitie mon be had for [the king's and queen's] intertenymment... [which] sall gritlie advance his Majesteis honnour, and utherwayes rander to his Hienes sic plesure and contentment as he suld nevir be able to forzett.²¹¹

It is interesting to note that, although an Edinburgh burgess was appointed as the ingatherer of the said sums, the Edinburgh council itself did not pay. A warrant was issued on 14 March 1589 to the provost, baillies and council, who had failed to pay their portion of £1,000. The said sum was ordered to be delivered to William Schaw, master of works, to be used for the enlarging and repairing of the Palace of Holyroodhouse in preparation for the arrival of James and his new queen.²¹² This money was granted on the condition that it was considered part of the 5,000 merks which the town had granted for the entertainment of the Danish commissioners and their entourage in Leith, provided that the town 'be na forther burdenit with ony intertenement'.²¹³

The initial plans were made for the expected arrival of the queen in September 1589. The town ordered that the council, 'accumpaniet with ane sufficient number of honest men decently apparrellit' (some dressed in 'special gowns'), meet the queen and salute her at her landing.²¹⁴ Then, on 13 October, Provost John Arnott declared the king's desire that Edinburgh and Leith prepare a ship, of 60 tons, to pass to Norway with another ship already appointed to bring the queen home to Scotland. The town agreed two days later to the king's desire to include 20 'well clad and

²¹⁰ *Edin. Recs.* (1589-1603), 3.

²¹¹ *Papers Relative to Marriage*, appendix i: 5.

²¹² *Papers Relative to Marriage*, appendix i: 10.

²¹³ *Edin. Min.*, ix, fo.36v.

²¹⁴ *Edin. Min.*, ix, fo.6r.

armed' men to travel with the ship, upon the town's charges.²¹⁵ The skipper of the town's ship, Robert Lukup, received a payment of £472 in December 1589.²¹⁶

More preparations were made for collecting James and Anna from Denmark in the spring of 1590. On 18 March 1590, the king sent his request to the town to send ships for his convoy homeward. It was 'thocht expedient' that a 'commodious' ship be hired and well furnished with mariners and pilots, and decorated with streamers, flags, insignia and side cloths, the decorations to be prepared by the dean of guild.²¹⁷ The ship was David Hutchinson's *Angel of Kirkcaldy*, which was furnished with 24 experienced men, at least six of whom were qualified pilots, as well as powder, bullets and other munitions, and was to be ready to depart by 1 April. The council agreed to pay Hutchinson £500 per month during his absence. William Foulis, who was to accompany the ship in order to declare the town's 'service to his majestie quherevir he be',²¹⁸ was granted 200 merks for his travels, clothing and other necessities needed on this journey.²¹⁹ Edinburgh burgess Alexander Napier was reimbursed £248 15s 9d, according to a receipt dated 20 March 1590, for preparing Hutchinson's ship for its travels to Denmark. Included in this receipt was a payment of £500 to Hutchinson for the freight of his ship, a payment of 33s 4d for carrying ordnance to the ship, and £8 to James Workman for painting the ship.²²⁰

James, of course, did not limit his borrowing to money. He borrowed various items off the town in preparation for Anna's arrival and that of her Danish entourage. On 2 September 1589, two of the king's masters of the household appeared at the council with an order for the town to provide its best table linens, which were to be used to serve the 'foreigners' who were to arrive with the queen, and to deliver the said linens to Frances Galbraith, the king's pantry man. The treasurer was also ordered to repair, 'with diligence', the Netherbow for the queen's entry.²²¹ A later account noted a payment, on 8 October 1589, to Sir James Chisholm, the king's master household, of £2,333 6s 8d for the furnishing of the queen's house in Leith.²²²

²¹⁵ *Edin. Recs.* (1589-1603), 8; *Edin. Min.*, ix, fo.12r.

²¹⁶ *Edin. TA* (1581-96), fo.524.

²¹⁷ *Edin. Recs.* (1589-1603), 16.

²¹⁸ *Edin. Min.*, ix, fo.39r.

²¹⁹ *Edin. Recs.* (1589-1603), 17. The printed records give the sum as 200 merks whereas the manuscript records state a sum of 300 merks.

²²⁰ *Edin. Recs.* (1589-1603), appendix i (TA, 1589-90, p.568).

²²¹ *Edin. Recs.* (1589-1603), 3.

²²² *Edin. TA* (1581-96), fo.523.

Some preparations for Anna's arrival had been a long time in the making. One example was the repaving of the Cowgate. On 2 May 1589, payments were recorded for 'talsaying' of the Cowgate, on both sides, from the port to the new well. In November, work was continued on the Cowgate, from the new well to the Magdalen Chapel.²²³ In September, work centred on the Netherbow: 15 loads of lime were purchased to 'cast' and mend it and 'spargeoneris' to plaster it. Other work ordered at this time included £5 17s to the master of the song school for items associated with the children's play, as well as a total of £9 for buckram, some coloured, some old, for clothing for the children.²²⁴ In October 1589, a proclamation was made commanding hostlers and stablers to give the names of any people lodging with them, under penalty of £5, probably as part of strict security measures. On 27 March 1590, the dean of guild was ordered to dress and wash the kirk walls and vaults and to repair the roof; these repairs appear to have lasted a number of weeks and cost a total of £157 1s 2d.²²⁵ And on 15 April 1590, the privy council ordered that all beggars be removed from Edinburgh, Leith and anywhere in between, while the foreigners were present: the beggars were given 48 hours to leave town.²²⁶ A further proclamation was made to observe a fast, which was to be kept each Sunday until the king's return from Norway.²²⁷

Entry of Anna of Denmark, May 1590

James and his young queen, Anna of Denmark, arrived in Leith on 1 May 1590. Edinburgh welcomed the royal couple by setting bonfires on the Salisbury Crag, which was accomplished with 10 loads of coal, six tar barrels and two loads of broom at a cost of 47s.²²⁸ James and his queen remained in Leith until 6 May, when they passed at four o'clock in the afternoon to Holyroodhouse. Anna, in her golden coach, was surrounded by the burgesses of Edinburgh, Leith, Musselburgh, Dalkeith and others, while the route was lined by 1600 footmen, dressed in armour, from Edinburgh, Canongate and Leith, who gave off a volley of shots at the king and

²²³ Edin. TA (1581-96), fo.534.

²²⁴ *Edin. Recs.* (1589-1603), appendix i (TA, 1589-90, p.572).

²²⁵ *Edin. Recs.* (1589-1603), 17.

²²⁶ *Edin. Recs.* (1589-1603), 18.

²²⁷ *Edin. Recs.* (1589-1603), 8.

²²⁸ Edin. TA (1581-96), fo.572; *Edin. Recs.* (1589-1603), appendix i (TA, 1589-90, p.572).

queen's passing to show their joy at the royal couple's safe arrival.²²⁹ As well as volleys of shots, the town hired drummers and a piper to play as she progressed to the palace. They also played on the day of her entry to Edinburgh.²³⁰

Edinburgh was the host and paid all of the bills associated with the queen's entry, as well as providing Anna with a substantial welcome gift. Therefore, Edinburgh's council, burgesses and craftsmen all found themselves either busily planning the festivities, working on the actual physical presentation, or preparing to take part themselves. A committee, consisting of the baillies, former baillies, former treasurer, James Henderson and George Heriot, had been organised to consult and decide on the manner of the queen's entry.²³¹

Anna made her entry into Edinburgh on 19 May. Once in sight of the castle, which had banners and 'auncients' displayed upon its walls, the castle gunners let off a volley of shots to welcome her.²³² A canopy of purple velvet embroidered with gold was carried over her by six 'ancient' townsmen. A group of young townsmen, some reports say 60 while others 24, dressed like Moors, and some clothed in cloth of silver others in white taffeta, with precious chains about their necks and bracelets set with diamonds and other precious stones about their arms, 'very gorgeous to the eie', preceded the coach, each carried a white staff to keep the throng of people away. Payments were recorded for painting of the young men and for 17 masks that hung in the council house that were to be used by them.²³³ The queen was also accompanied by the provost and baillies, 'with footeclothes to keep the people in good order'.²³⁴

One of the town's many preparations for the queen's arrival and entry concerned the gift which would be presented to her. The decision was made to use one of the king's jewels, a tablet of gold in a case with a diamond and emerald, which was in the hands of Alexander Clark, who was holding it in pledge of £4,000 borrowed by the king. The council obtained the king's consent to gift the queen with the jewel and stated that they would rely upon the king's goodwill for repayment of

²²⁹ Johnston, *History*, fo.597v; *Papers Relative to Marriage*, 38.

²³⁰ *Edin. Recs.* (1589-1603), appendix i (TA, 1589-90, p.572).

²³¹ *Edin. Recs.* (1589-1603), 18.

²³² *Papers Relative to Marriage*, 39.

²³³ *Edin. TA* (1581-96), fo.574; *Edin. Recs.* (1589-1603), appendix i (TA, 1589-90, p.572). See Court Style: Royal Entries.

²³⁴ *Papers Relative to Marriage*, 40; Johnston, *History*, fos.598r-v.

the money.²³⁵ The jewel was received on 8 October from John Provand, whose father-in-law was Clark, while William Fairly was ordered to obtain a warrant and discharge at the king's hands for Clark and the town.²³⁶ Goldsmith David Gilbert received 140 merks for his labours and workmanship on the said jewel.²³⁷ The finished gift, a purple velvet covered box, embroidered with an 'A' and set with diamonds and precious stones, and estimated at a value of 20,000 crowns, was presented to the queen the day of her entry by lowering it from the top of the Netherbow Port on a silk string.²³⁸

Prior to the actual entry, the burgh treasurer had been ordered, on 5 September 1589, to allow all expenses upon the walls and ports, cross and tron, and other places seen by the master of works. He was to pay for the creation of a canopy of velvet with all necessities, with the bible and psalm book.²³⁹ Other advance preparations from September 1589 included nominations of councillors to bear the queen's embroidered purple velvet canopy. These men were divided into groups of six and put into first, second and third places. Among those councillors chosen were John Provand in the first place, Nicoll Uddart, Henry Nisbet and William and Alexander Napier in the second place, and James Inglis in the third,²⁴⁰ all of whom were to accompany the queen, dressed in gowns of black velvet decorated with velvet and silk.²⁴¹

The town's expenditures on the entry covered a wide range of areas: more than £80 on taffeta for insignias, painting of the castles in the middle of two of the insignias, 'thre dossane of glass' to the mercat cross;²⁴² £3 2s 8d for 12 'buistis strochectis and consatis' that were cast over the Netherbow stairs; £6 for buckram clothes for the nymphs; painting Hercules' baton and rod and pictures of Bacchus on four 'stoupis' of a bed at the Salt Tron; hanging streamers upon the steeple the day of the entry; and the fashioning of two silver keys that were given to the queen, and for the silk string and the town's seal which accompanied them.²⁴³ Many of the tapestries

²³⁵ *Edin. Recs.* (1589-1603), 4.

²³⁶ *Edin. Recs.* (1589-1603), 7.

²³⁷ *Edin. Recs.* (1589-1603), 20.

²³⁸ *Papers Relative to Marriage*, 42.

²³⁹ *Edin. Recs.* (1589-1603), 4.

²⁴⁰ *Edin. Recs.* (1589-1603), 5.

²⁴¹ Anderson, *History*, fo.243r.

²⁴² *Edin. TA* (1581-96), fos.571, 573.

²⁴³ *Edin. Recs.* (1589-1603), appendix i (TA, 1589-90, p.572).

that were hung around the town during the queen's entry were borrowed from Holyroodhouse and other well-furnished homes in the town, and payments are noted when these were returned following the entry.²⁴⁴

John Workman submitted an invoice for £33 6s 8d for painting which included gilding the two arms at the Netherbow and painting 14 arms, 14 crowns, and 14 sceptres with various coats of armour.²⁴⁵ The town also made expenditures on flowers and straw to cast on the lofts, seats, stalls and kirk floor at the queen's entry, as well as 12 'burdene of gers' to cast all over St Giles', along with even more flowers and straw, and two pounds of 'rosset' to burn in the kirk. Furthermore, the town provided breakfast in the aisle of St Giles' for the king's master of works and the men who hung the tapestries the day of the entry.²⁴⁶ There was ringing and tolling of the bells, beating of drums and roaring of cannons, along with all types of musical instruments and singing, until the queen and her convoy returned to the palace.²⁴⁷ Payments of £20 to 60 halberds at the queen's entry, and £5 to the fiddlers at the banquet were recorded in late May.²⁴⁸ Another banquet expense was that of carrying timber to close up Thomas Aitchison's close,²⁴⁹ which likely would have been the location of the banquet.

The globe at the West Port that was lowered and opened to reveal a child has quite a history of its own. The globe, which was used in the entries of Mary and James, opened outwards in four quarters.²⁵⁰ It has been suggested that with the use of the globe in Mary's entry the Edinburgh council had achieved 'a sophistication of machinery not found in the earlier London pageant' which greeted Queen Elizabeth on her official entry to her capital in January 1558.²⁵¹ A globe may not have been used in 1558, but one was used in 1503.²⁵² Another suggestion has been made that the original expense of the device is suggested by fact that council determined to obtain full value for money from the globe and appeared to have put it into storage.²⁵³

²⁴⁴ Edin. TA (1581-96), fo.581.

²⁴⁵ *Edin. Recs.* (1589-1603), appendix i (TA, 1589-90, p.572).

²⁴⁶ *Edin. Recs.* (1589-1603), appendix i (TA, 1589-90, p.572).

²⁴⁷ Anderson, *History*, fo.243r.

²⁴⁸ Edin. TA (1581-96), fo.569; *Edin. Recs.* (1589-1603), 20

²⁴⁹ Edin. TA (1581-96), fo.581.

²⁵⁰ Mill, *Mediaeval Plays*, 193, 202, and see inserted table.

²⁵¹ MacDonald, 'Triumph of Protestantism', 80 [Bergeron, *English Civic Pageantry*, 25].

²⁵² I owe this correction to Michael Lynch.

²⁵³ MacDonald, 'Triumph of Protestantism', 80.

An entry on 8 September noted 16s given to a boy to pass to Dundee and fetch the globe for the queen's entry.²⁵⁴ It is not clear if this was the same globe that had been used in 1561 and 1579, or if it was a separate globe. Whatever the case, a globe similar to that used in the entries of Mary and James was collected and made ready for Anna's entry. This entailed iron work on the globe itself, painting it, mending it and making a new iron 'schyre' and two pairs of iron bands which were put at the West Port at the point to which the globe would suddenly descend.²⁵⁵ The town obviously did an excellent job of presenting the queen's entry:

O Edinburghe, now will I sing
Thy prais quhilk the pertains of richt,
Thou has been ay trew to thy King,
In doing seruice day and nicht:
Quhen that his Grace did hair ado,
And in the fields ay formest to.
Not sparing for to spend thair blud,
Into thair breists thay bure sic loue,
I say no more, so I conclud,
Bot I beseik the God above:
Gif that it be his godly will,
That thy estait may fluris still.²⁵⁶

Baptisms and Funerals

Funerals and baptisms were often accompanied by civic displays, and Edinburgh, as Scotland's capital found itself at the centre of many of these events. The first example in this period is that of the funeral of James Stewart, earl of Moray and regent of Scotland, on 14 February 1570, in which the town played an active role in the funerary procession. The nobility with 'the haill burgess and craftis' of Edinburgh past down to the Palace of Holyroodhouse at 10 o'clock in the morning, and from there, carried the regent's corpse to St Giles': the town of Edinburgh proceeded first, their officers carrying black staffs on their shoulders, followed by Sir William Kirkcaldy of Grange, provost of Edinburgh and captain of the castle, his horse 'coverit with all blak claith, with ane standart in hand, quherin was ane reid rampand

²⁵⁴ *Edin. Recs.* (1589-1603), appendix i (TA, 1589-90, p.572).

²⁵⁵ *Edin. TA* (1581-96), fo.574; *Edin. Recs.* (1589-1603), appendix i (TA, 1589-90, p.572).

²⁵⁶ J. Burel, 'The Discription of the Queenis Maiesties Maist Honorable entry into the Toun of Edinbvrgh, Vpon the 19 Day of Maii 1590', in Burel, 'Poems'; also in *Papers Relative to Marriage*, vii.

lyoun'.²⁵⁷ The actual funeral service and the burial were private affairs, and only the procession assumed any type of civic function. James VI had a great dislike of violence, death and funerals, and therefore it is not surprising that no great funeral processions occurred in Edinburgh during his personal reign. This fear of funerals went so deep that James delayed his own triumphant arrival in London in 1603 long enough so as to miss Elizabeth's great state funeral.

The court, thanks in part to a young nobility and a young royal couple, often found itself celebrating baptisms, as has been mentioned in a previous chapter. Edinburgh was able to play a more active role in court festivities during royal baptisms. On 19 February 1594, the queen was delivered, at Stirling, of a young prince. Edinburgh celebrated this event by calling the burgh inhabitants to St Giles' 'to give God public thanks', ringing out all the bells at once, and setting bonfires throughout the whole town.²⁵⁸ The baptism of the young heir to the throne was a great occasion and the king decided it should be held in Stirling where he himself had been baptised. The council did attempt to change the king's mind regarding the location of the ceremonies in mid-July, claiming that the visiting ambassadors could not be properly 'furnished' at Stirling nor would building work on the chapel royal, 'the great Temple of Solomon', be completed before the appointed day.²⁵⁹ Regardless of their entreaties, James continued with his plans to hold the ceremonies in Stirling.

Although the baptism of Prince Henry did not occur in Edinburgh, the town did have its own preparations for the arrival of the various ambassadors coming for the baptism. Workmen were paid 10s for taking down the gibbet and bearing it to the lower Tolbooth, two workmen were paid to clean Leith Wynd, and on 3 August, Peter Cornwall was paid 6s 8d to meet the Flemish ambassadors in Leith.²⁶⁰ Furthermore, flowers were sent to the kirk where the queen and ambassadors were present, and apparently sitting on velvet cushions. Finally, 16s 8d were paid for dressing and 'pointing ouer againe' the king's arms in St Giles'.²⁶¹ For the baptism itself, the town propined the king, at his own request, with ten tuns of wine at a cost of £180, as

²⁵⁷ Johnston, *History*, fo.431r.

²⁵⁸ *Edin. Recs.* (1589-1603), 109.

²⁵⁹ *CSP Scot.*, xi, #290.

²⁶⁰ *Edin. Recs.* (1589-1603), appendix xix (TA: 874,876).

²⁶¹ *Edin. Recs.* (1589-1603), appendix xix (Gild Accounts: 535,536).

Edinburgh's part of the spice and wine required for the baptism.²⁶² It was also decided to send 100 men, well clothed and armoured, to Stirling to await upon the king's service 'for the honour of the Kings Majestie at the tyme of the baptisme of the prynce'. This surrogate royal guard was supported by a tax of 1,000 merks.²⁶³ More mundane payments included the purchase of as much timber as James Murray, master wright, thought necessary for the king's work [the new chapel royal] in Stirling.²⁶⁴ Another interesting payment appeared in late June 1594, when the council ordered that David Poole, sweschour, be given £13 6s 8d in order to buy him clothing against the entertaining of the ambassadors.²⁶⁵ Presumably Poole had been asked to provide entertainment for the various ambassadors as they bided their time in Edinburgh before departing for the much-delayed baptism of Prince Henry in Stirling.

Another happy, and this time local, occasion saw the town actively involved in the baptism of Princess Elizabeth who was born in Dunfermline on 19 November 1596. For this baptism James chose representatives of the town to be witnesses. James sent word to the council desiring and requesting them, for his special honour and pleasure, to be present 'in your maist cumlie maner' as witnesses and to attend upon the solemnity 'for the better decoratioun thair of'.²⁶⁶ Not surprisingly, they agreed. Being chosen as a witness for a royal offspring was a great honour and proved the town's close affinity with the king and its position as the most important burgh in the country. A few days later, the council agreed to give the princess, as a 'Godbairne gift', the sum of 10,000 merks to be paid and delivered three days after her marriage (this act was replaced by a new act on 19 March 1613). Their reason for this was that the king had shown 'ane particulare love and favoure' to Edinburgh by calling them to be witnesses to the baptism and this was a way to remember the king's good will and the town's humble duty.²⁶⁷ The town put a lot into the actual presentation to the king of the princess's baptism gift. The cost of writing out the actual act of council amounted to £5 while the box that it was put in cost £10 12s 6d.

²⁶² Edin. TA (1581-96), fo.866; *Edin. Recs.* (1589-1603), 117

²⁶³ *Edin. Recs.* (1589-1603), 119; Edin. TA (1581-96), 865-6.

²⁶⁴ *Edin. Recs.* (1589-1603), 113.

²⁶⁵ Edin. TA (1581-96), fo.864.

²⁶⁶ *Edin. Recs.* (1589-1603), 168-69.

²⁶⁷ *Edin. Recs.* (1589-1603), 170.

The town made a further gift of 38 £5 pieces, a total of £190, to the nurses, rockers, midwives and porters present at the baptism.²⁶⁸

The town, along with some of the nobility, was present on 28 November 1596 at the baptism of the young princess. Ambassador Bowes presented the child in the name of his queen, Elizabeth, after whom the child was named. The witnesses to the baptism were Queen Elizabeth (by proxy), the duke of Lennox, and the provost and baillies in name of the town of Edinburgh. The baillies were conveyed to and from Holyroodhouse with 18 torches.²⁶⁹ Some of these seem to have been made by Robert Johnston, wax maker, who in May 1599 received payment of £4 for one dozen torches used to escort the provost from the ‘abbey’ at the time of the ‘princes baptesme’.²⁷⁰

Guard for the King

James VI was continuously in need of money and not surprisingly had much difficulty in retaining a guard around his person. He discovered one way around this by requesting the town to provide a guard, primarily during politically unstable times. This is what he did in January 1580 following the arrest of the earl of Morton. James desired ‘100 hakbutteris of the ableist and best skill’ to accompany Morton from Edinburgh to Dumbarton Castle, and for an additional 100 hackbutteris ‘daylie and nichtlie to attend in our persoun heir in our Abbay of Halyruidhous and about the same, in sic places as we sall find conuenient to appoint thame’ so that during Morton’s convoy ‘our persoun be nocht disappointit of ane suir and substantial gaird for the preseruatioun and assurance thairof’. This was agreed to by the council for the ‘preseruatioun of our Souerane Lordis persoun and honour of the toun’.²⁷¹ A watch was again ordered, to start on 10 February 1580 and continue until 20 February, the time of the convention of estates. This time, only 30 persons were required to guard the king.²⁷² Not surprisingly, on 20 February, a guard of 60 men from the town’s

²⁶⁸ *Edin. Recs.* (1589-1603), appendix xxix (TA, ii, 51).

²⁶⁹ *Edin. Recs.* (1589-1603), appendix xxix (TA, ii, 51).

²⁷⁰ *Edin. TA* (1596-1612), fo.183.

²⁷¹ *Edin. Recs.* (1573-1589), 192.

²⁷² *Edin. Recs.* (1573-1589), 196.

watch was sent to Holyroodhouse to guard the king, according to the town's order and the king's pleasure.²⁷³

Again, on 21 November 1582, the council read a letter from the king commanding them to direct 30 hackbutteres 'provydet with pulder and bullett' to keep watch night and day 'for the better gairding of our persoun' until the king discharges them.²⁷⁴ Not surprisingly, the council agreed. On 24 March 1583, the king again requested a round-the-clock guard to watch over him at Holyroodhouse 'for eschewing of apperant dayngers', to which the town agreed.²⁷⁵ It should be noted that the last two requests for the town to provide a royal guard occurred during the Ruthven regime. Most likely the Ruthven administration feared a rival faction might attempt to gain control of the king, just as they themselves had done in August 1582.

The busiest year, as far as guard requests are concerned, was 1584. This should be expected as James had just recently escaped from under the control of the earl of Gowrie and the Ruthven raiders, and Scotland seemed to be faced with a number of attempted coups to gain control of the king. Edinburgh and Leith were called upon to guard the king, night and day, at the end of March 1584, the result of conspiracy rumours involving the earls of Angus and Mar and the master of Glamis.²⁷⁶ On Friday, 24 April, the nobility was commanded to be prepared to ride with the king to Stirling the next day to apprehend the rebels, with a special request that Edinburgh send 500 men to ride with Colonel Stewart.²⁷⁷ In June 1584, the king sent a letter desiring that certain soldiers be 'beltit' upon the town. No decision was made as the provost and most of the council were absent at the time.²⁷⁸ One month later, the king sent a request 'for caussis knawin to his grace' that a good watch be kept in the town, especially at night.²⁷⁹ James, in October 1584, sent a missive to the town council stating that in order to 'retene our awin hous, court, and cumpany, in ane moderatt maner and small nummer' and because he had decided to spend the winter in 'our palaice of Halyruidhous ewest our principall burgh and palaice of justice', he

²⁷³ *Edin. Recs.* (1573-1589), 198.

²⁷⁴ *Edin. Recs.* (1573-1589), 261.

²⁷⁵ *Edin. Recs.* (1573-1589), 329.

²⁷⁶ Calderwood, iv, 20.

²⁷⁷ Calderwood, iv, 32.

²⁷⁸ *Edin. Min.*, vii, fo.91r.

²⁷⁹ *Edin. Recs.* (1573-1589), 344.

charged all inhabitants of the town ‘boddin in maist weirlyke maner’ to repair to the king ‘for defence and preseruatioun thair of and persuit of our traitouris’.²⁸⁰

In May 1585, James desired that the town furnish 40 soldiers to convoy the laird of Johnston homeward, for which the town would be partly refunded. The council consented to furnish 39 soldiers, a drummer and 2 commanders.²⁸¹ This request was associated with another made by the king, the same month, in which he requested 1,000 merks to outfit men of war to pass to the borders, which would be reimbursed out of the general tax of £20,000. The council approved, although they allowed that the sum would be taken out of the £2,000 granted by the town for the kirk and the wine.²⁸² On 27 October 1585, the town was requested to ‘keip straitlie thair town’ and provide 100 men on guard because the king was informed that his rebels had come out of England and entered the country upon no small enterprise.²⁸³ On 11 June 1589, the town made a payment of £1,524 9s for the charge of the 200 men of war sent north to the king during the Brig o’Dee affair.²⁸⁴

At the end of March 1590, James sent instructions to the laird of Carmichael, captain of the king’s guard, in which he was to gain the assistance of the town council in ‘uplifting’ of 200 well-armed hackbutter to serve the king during the remaining of the ‘strangers’. This was, of course, in preparation for the arrival of Anna and her Danish entourage. Further instructions were to ensure that the men of Edinburgh, Canongate and Leith be ‘in there armes’ and positioned along both sides of the road from the shore of Leith to the inner abbey gate in order ‘to beare of the pres of the people’.²⁸⁵ The town was again called upon, in September 1591, to provide a guard of 100 men to attend the king while he was at Dalkeith, ‘or for some few months’.²⁸⁶ If this guard was actually taken up is unknown. What is known is that several months later, on 31 March 1592, the king desired, and the council agreed, that 20 soldiers

²⁸⁰ *Edin. Recs.* (1573-1589), 361-62.

²⁸¹ *Edin. Recs.* (1573-1589), 414.

²⁸² *Edin. Min.*, vii, fo.181v. These actions were anti-Maxwell: see K. Brown, ‘The Making of a *Politique*: The Counter Reformation and the Regional Politics of John, Eighth Lord Maxwell’, *SHR*, lxvi, 152-175.

²⁸³ *Edin. Min.*, vii, fo.209v.

²⁸⁴ *Edin. TA* (1581-96), fo.523; for more on the Brig o’Dee affair see R. Grant, ‘The Brig o’Dee Affair, the 6th earl of Huntly and the Politics of the Counter-Reformation’, in Goodare and Lynch (ed.), *Reign of James VI*, 93-109.

²⁸⁵ *CSP Scot.*, x, no.370.

²⁸⁶ *CSP Scot.*, x, no.753.

should be furnished for a month to await upon the king's service in Dalkeith.²⁸⁷ It is possible that this was simply an extension to the requested guard of September. What is more likely is that James's September request was turned down and the king found himself reduced both to down-scaling the amount of men requested and allowing a set length of service. The last entry occurred on 30 November 1602 when the king requested a guard numbering 30 persons, half with halberds the other with muskets, to keep a nightly watch for the space of a month at the palace while the king was present.²⁸⁸

Visitors to the Court

Edinburgh, as both capital and favoured site of the court, was often called upon to house and entertain visiting ambassadors and courtiers. James seems to have viewed Edinburgh as his own private hotel in which to place anyone that came calling. Edinburgh, for the most part, seems to have been happy to oblige. However, it was not only ambassadors and other dignitaries that were housed in the town. Occasionally, James and Anna made use of the relative security of their capital, as did the regent. In December 1572, James Douglas, earl of Morton and regent lay 'deidlie seik of rombursounes and war not he was cutit therof he had lost ye lyff'. What is interesting is not that he was ill but rather where he chose to lodge during this illness. Instead of Dalkeith or even Holyroodhouse, the regent was located in William Craig's lodging in the south side of the Tron in Edinburgh.²⁸⁹ The only logical reason for his stay in Edinburgh was that he was in desperate need of a doctor and Edinburgh would have provided the best and most ready medical attention.

The provost's house seems to have been used for many different purposes by members of the court. On 8 May 1584, James came to Edinburgh accompanied by the earls of Huntly, Marischal, Arran, Montrose and others and passed down the High Street to the provost's lodging where Ludovick, duke of Lennox was waiting. Once

²⁸⁷ *Edin. Recs.* (1589-1603), 62.

²⁸⁸ *Edin. Recs.* (1589-1603), 314.

²⁸⁹ Johnston, *History*, fo.484r.

there, the king ‘lap aff his hors and kist the said duik’ then passed into the lodging where they remained for a space, after which they all walked to Holyroodhouse.²⁹⁰

In July 1579, James received word that some German gentlemen were coming to Edinburgh. He requested that they be honourably received by the council, that lodgings and other necessities be prepared for them, and most importantly, that ‘thai be sufficientlie intertenit on the tounis chargis.’ The town ordered that they be lodged in baillie Robert Kerr’s house and that Kerr provide anything they needed, all of which would later be refunded by the council.²⁹¹ Kerr was refunded the sum of £108 10s for the expenses of the visiting Germans on 1 August 1579.²⁹² Later that month, the king again presented the council with a bill, this time ‘for interteneing of the Lord Humbsiden [ie Hunsdon], the Quene of Inglandis imbassadour, quha is to arryve heir in Scotland’.²⁹³

In late August 1583, the council was required to prepare for the visit of Sir Francis Walsingham, the queen of England’s special ambassador. This was to be done by presenting ‘crotcherts’ and wine at his entry to the burgh and other necessities in his lodgings.²⁹⁴ The council was very aware of their duties as a host, which can be seen from the number of messages sent back and forth in preparation for the arrival of Walsingham. On 6 September, a messenger was sent to Lord Rothes to tell him to meet the ambassador at Queensferry. A second messenger was sent, this time to Queensferry, to inform Rothes that the ambassador had delayed his journey and ridden to Stirling instead.²⁹⁵ Further Walsingham-related expenditures included £42 4s 6d paid by William Fairlie and Michael Chisholm for spice, wine and other necessities given to Walsingham, for which they were reimbursed in the accounts of November 1582, and £4 was paid to John Black ‘for his service done’ to the ambassador.²⁹⁶ Spice and wine were also gifted, in June 1585, to the recently arrived Danish ambassadors ‘for the honour of the towne’. A further sign of honour for the Danes seems to have been a welcoming committee of councillors and ‘honest’

²⁹⁰ Johnston, *History*, fo.559r.

²⁹¹ *Edin. Recs.* (1573-1589), 111.

²⁹² *Edin. Min.*, v, fo.153r.

²⁹³ *Edin. Recs.* (1573-1589), 114.

²⁹⁴ *Edin. Recs.* (1573-1589), 287.

²⁹⁵ *Edin. TA* (1581-96), fo.85.

²⁹⁶ *Edin. TA* (1581-96), fo.71.

neighbours.²⁹⁷ The council then sent a letter to the town of Dundee requesting assistance in the honourable entertainment of the ambassadors of Denmark ‘for the weill of the estait of burrowes and honour of the realme’.²⁹⁸

On 28 May 1585, another English ambassador, Sir Edward Wotton, arrived in the Canongate with 24 horses in his train; he was lodged beside Holyroodhouse in Kinloch’s lodging.²⁹⁹ Less than a month later, on 13 June, two ships arrived at Leith carrying two ambassadors, with an entourage of about 30 persons, directed from the Danish king. They were lodged in Thomas Lindsay’s house in Leith.³⁰⁰ In February 1586, another Englishman, Thomas Randolph, arrived in Edinburgh, where he was lodged in the same house that had been given to Walsingham. Interestingly, on his journey to Edinburgh, Randolph had dined in North Berwick with Alexander Home (‘sometime servant to the Earl of Murray’, and a future Edinburgh provost).³⁰¹

Accommodation was required in June 1588 for the two sisters of the duke of Lennox, who had recently arrived from France. James requested that the town should cover the costs of housing the duke’s sisters for between 15 and 20 days. The council responded by declaring its ‘greitt burdings in his Graces effaires’ but accepted that a total rejection would incur the king’s displeasure. A decision was made that they would cover the entertainment and lodging of the Stewart sisters, but only up to a limit of 500 merks, and by no means would they dispense more than that amount.³⁰² On 3 July, the council granted commission to the dean of guild, Clement Kerr, and Patrick Sandilands to consult with those appointed by the king’s comptroller for the entertainment of the sisters ‘als guid cheip as thai may’.³⁰³

Less important visitors were foisted upon the town in late December 1588, when James requested that the town provide the maintenance for at least 400 Spaniards who had been shipwrecked in the northwest.³⁰⁴ Following James and Anna’s arrival in Scotland, another English ambassador, the earl of Worcester, journeyed to Edinburgh. He appeared at Kinloch’s lodging, at the foot of the Canongate, with ‘80 hors in tryne, quharof war 20 barrounes knichtis and gentilmen

²⁹⁷ *Edin. Recs.* (1573-1589), 424-25.

²⁹⁸ *Edin. Recs.* (1573-1589), 431.

²⁹⁹ Johnston, *History*, fo.564v.

³⁰⁰ Johnston, *History*, fo.564v.

³⁰¹ *CSP Scot.*, viii, no.293.

³⁰² *Edin. Recs.* (1573-1589), 524.

³⁰³ *Edin. Min.*, viii, fo.161r.

³⁰⁴ *CSP Scot.*, ix, no.564.

of england'.³⁰⁵ The ambassador from France was also lodged in Edinburgh in 1602, where it was noted he began to find favour with a number of the 'best' burgesses while his wife spent time with Anna and the master of Gray, the latter of whom had been appointed to attend upon the queen during the Frenchwoman's visit.³⁰⁶

Nicoll Uddart's home seems to have been one of the favoured lodgings in which to place visiting dignitaries. On 25 January 1591, 'for feir of the erle bothuell as was alledgit' the king and queen moved from Holyroodhouse to Uddart's lodging in Niddrie's Wynd while the chancellor moved into Alexander Clark's lodging.³⁰⁷ On 25 February 1592, Lord Barrow, the lord colonel of the English camp in Flanders, came as ambassador from Berwick to Seton with 12 horses in his train and from there to Edinburgh where he was lodged in the provost's lodging in Niddrie's Wynd.³⁰⁸ On 5 January 1593, Lord Derby, another English ambassador, came to Edinburgh out of England and lodged in Nicoll Uddart's lodging.³⁰⁹ Uddart's lodging was again used, in August 1594, when the earl of Sussex, Queen Elizabeth's ambassador for the baptism of Prince Henry, came to Edinburgh accompanied with the Lord Fortoun and 'sax scoir horss in tryne'.³¹⁰

When not providing lodgings for visitors, the town's other function was to act as coordinator and host for a number of banquets at the bequest of the king. At this point it is perhaps helpful to suggest that not all 'banquets' could be described as large affairs. Ambassador Bowes once claimed that, in Scotland, banquets are often 'small provisions of dillicattis havinge spyce meate and wyne' and are of no great matter or value.³¹¹ This may certainly be the case for some of the 'banquets' listed below, although a few, namely that for the duke of Holstein, were most definitely of the large and sumptuous variety. John Hart, cook, was paid at the provost's command to buy two dressed hams in preparation for a banquet to the duc de Guise's servants in June 1582.³¹² James sent a letter to the council on 1 February 1583 desiring them to provide a banquet to the French ambassador, Seigneur de la Mothe Fénélon, before his departure. Although it was 'thought unmeete, for sindrie reasons', the council

³⁰⁵ Johnston, *History*, fo.598v.

³⁰⁶ *CSP Scot.*, xiii, no.845.

³⁰⁷ Johnston, *History*, fo.602v.

³⁰⁸ Johnston, *History*, fos.610v-611r.

³⁰⁹ Johnston, *History*, fo.619r.

³¹⁰ Johnston, *History*, fo.621r.

³¹¹ *CSP Scot.*, xi, no.124.

³¹² Edin. TA (1581-96), fo.10.

concluded that a banquet be given. Two days later, the kirk session convened in Edinburgh and concluded that Edinburgh's congregation should meet the following day for fasting and prayer if a banquet was, in fact, held. Edinburgh minister James Lawson stated that the banquet was 'altogether unlawfull' and the town 'sealed up their fellowship of true love with the murtherers of the sancts of God'.³¹³ The banquet was indeed held, invited by Alexander Clark and 'some few merchants', although Fénélon claimed 'all the chiefs' of the town, including the provost, had hosted him. It has been argued that the most likely explanation of events was Calderwood's assertion that the banquet was boycotted by three of the baillies and a majority of the council, and that pressure not to hold it came from a number of religious and politically minded wealthy merchants. It was argued further that it was an attempt by the excluded and more moderately-inclined members of the merchant establishment to embarrass a primarily pro-Ruthven council.³¹⁴ In January 1584, the council found that the treasurer, Mungo Russell, needed to be reimbursed for the expenses of the banquet given the previous year for the French ambassador, Fénélon, which had amounted to £162 6s 9d.³¹⁵ Another ambassador that the town hosted was Monsieur Clarement, the ambassador of the king of Navarre, who was lodged at the town's expense from 23 to 26 July 1588. In September the council treasurer approved a payment of £106 3s 4d to Captain William Yourston, and the additional amounts of 52s to Allan McCulloch for a quart of white wine, another of claret and a quart of sweet wine furnished to the banquet at the ambassador's departure as well as £8 4s to Alexander Barclay for drugs and sweetmeats to the banquet.³¹⁶

On 29 May 1589, at the king's request, the council agreed to make a 'moderate' banquet to the ambassadors 'from certain towns in Holland' to be held in Nicoll Uddart's new house on the following Sunday evening, or sooner if necessary, and accompanied by six merchants and six craftsmen.³¹⁷ The following month the town, again at the king's request, agreed to make 'ane honest bankett' in Uddart's house to the English ambassadors, the captains of three of the English ships lying in

³¹³ Calderwood, iii, 699-700.

³¹⁴ Lynch, *Reformation*, 160.

³¹⁵ Edin. Min., vii, fo.62v; *Edin. Recs.* (1573-1589), 319.

³¹⁶ Edin. Min., viii, fo.172v; *Edin. Recs.* (1573-1589), 528.

³¹⁷ *Edin. Recs.* (1573-1589), 544.

the Forth, and those courtiers accompanying them.³¹⁸ The treasurer refunded the dean of guild £415 6s 4d for the expenses of both banquets.³¹⁹

The council agreed, on 21 May 1590, to host a banquet for the Danish ambassadors and the ‘famous persouns of thair cumpany’. This was to be held in master of the mint Thomas Aitchison’s house at the foot of Todrig’s Wynd on Sunday, 24 May. Preparations for the banquet were delegated to various councillors and included four puncheons of wine, four tuns of beer, four ‘gang’ of ale, bread, meat, and flowers; the house was to be hung with tapestries, the boards set, chandeliers furnished, cupboards to be provided and kept; and the Lord Provost was to provide the linens and two dozen large vessel as well as a cash advance of at least £100.³²⁰ In September of that year Michael Chisholm and William Fairlie were reimbursed £539 8s 2d for money which they had advanced for this banquet.³²¹

On 14 March 1598, the queen’s brother, the duke of Holstein, arrived in Edinburgh. A month later, James and the duke returned to Edinburgh, at which point the town began considerations for hosting a banquet to the duke as well as preparing a gift for him.³²² On 2 May, according to Edinburgh burgess Robert Birrell, he ‘got ane banquit in McMorane’s lodging given be the Town of Edinburgh, the King’s Majesty and the Quein seeing both there, there was great solemnity and myrryness at the said Banquet’.³²³ The total expenditure made for this particular banquet seems to have been slightly more than £1,100,³²⁴ which is approximately double that which was paid for the banquet given for the Danish ambassadors following Anna’s arrival in Scotland. The town’s banquet to the duke of Holstein was attended by Duke Ulric, James and Anna, a number of other nobles and gentlemen, and surely a few of the more influential town councillors.

In order to provide a better idea of the varied expenditures necessary when entertaining royalty it is necessary to list a number of the payments. For a banquet of any worth in the sixteenth century it was necessary to have a large amount of specially shaped and designed sugar candies. These were provided by Jacques de

³¹⁸ *Edin. Recs.* (1573-1589), 544.

³¹⁹ *Edin. Recs.* (1573-1589), 546; *Edin. TA* (1581-96), fo.522.

³²⁰ *Edin. Recs.* (1589-1603), 19-20.

³²¹ *Edin. TA* (1581-96), fo.570; *Edin. Min.*, ix, fo.59r; *Edin. Recs.* (1589-1603), 26.

³²² *CSP Scot.*, xiii, no.142.

³²³ Birrell, ‘Diary’, fo.34r; *Edin. Min.*, x, fo.365.

³²⁴ *Edin. TA* (1596-1612), fo.114.

Bousie for £184. Other banquet specialities included wild and tame fowl, which were bought from James Martin for £212 18s 8d. Brussel fowls were provided by various gentlemen from the surrounding countryside, and collected by one of the council's officers. One of the other large expenditures was £129 6s to the baker, Mungo Ross. Additional payments included £11 to the cook, £60 6s 8d to the flesher, £3 6s 8d for a 'boyen' ham and 45s for a Dutch ham, £7 3s 4d for flowers and herbs, £28 18s for spices, 30s for 30 oranges and 6s 8d for 25 apples, £14 13s 4d for a total of five stones of butter as well as raisins, saffron, cinnamon, five dozen eggs, and white peas. There were also payments of £10 each to the king's and queen's master cooks. James went so far as to donate venison from his own larder for the banquet.

Alcohol was another important ingredient to any banquet, especially one involving the king's heavy-drinking brother-in-law. The council paid £136 for two puncheons of wine, £21 for five gallons and a quart of claret, £7 for seven quarts of wine used in making 'ypocras' (for which apothecary John Clavie was paid £8 5s to make five quarts, and John Lawtie was paid £3 10s to make two quarts), £13 4s 8d for a tun of English beer, and £3 6s 8d for four barrels of ale. The town did not have a permanent supply of serving vessels and therefore had to borrow many from the town inhabitants; two pewter smiths, Thomas and Robert Weir, were paid nearly £50 for the loan of pewter and for a number of vessels that were lost. Some vessels, as well as other banquet furnishings, were borrowed from the royal household and carried up from Holyroodhouse. As well as vessels, the council borrowed linen, from which were lost five linen napkins (£3) and four damask 'Dornik' napkins (£8). Hanging chandeliers, tables and stools also had to be borrowed for the occasion. Other payments included those to Niniane McMorane for the cost of an outer gate for his close, for workmen hired to prepare his house for the banquet, and to men who carried the king's tapestries to the house. The town also had to provide some type of entertainment for the banquet. For this purpose four trumpeters and three minstrels were hired. It also appears that some of the town's schoolchildren provided some form of entertainment, as there were payments to two schoolmasters, John Black and Robert Birrell.³²⁵ At the duke of Holstein's departure from Leith on June 3, Birrell

³²⁵ *Edin. Recs.* (1589-1603), appendix xxxiv; *Edin. TA* (1596-1612), fos.135-137.

stated that ‘to his bonallay [i.e. farewell] 60 shot of ordinance [was] shot of the bulwark of Leith’.³²⁶

The town council also found itself hosting the occasional domestic banquet. The accounts for 24 May 1587 include a payment of £30 10s 8d for the so-called ‘love feast’ to the king and his nobility at the mercat cross.³²⁷ A month and a half later, a payment of £188 10s was noted for half a tun of Bordeaux and a ‘pype’³²⁸ of sweet wine that were transported to Holyroodhouse.³²⁹ Instead of requesting the council to host banquets, James often needed the town to provide essential supplies to banquets that he himself hosted. This was true in September 1599 when James requested that the town furnish spices and wine to the banquet that he was giving for the French ambassador. A committee was appointed to discuss the situation and give the town’s answer.³³⁰ The records show that the town did indeed provide wine, £218 worth of Bordeaux, for the king’s banquet, although no mention is made of the spices.³³¹ Finally, on 28 November 1600, the council stated that the provost was to host a banquet in his own home for Monsieur de Rohan (one of Prince Charles’s godparents). Six councillors were chosen to attend upon the provost ‘for the honour of the towne’ as well as any other town inhabitants that they thought necessary to invite. The council treasurer was ordered to furnish the spices and wine to the banquet, although the amounts and prices were not recorded.³³²

James’s requests on occasion went beyond the regular provision of food, entertainment and lodging. In May 1586, the king informed the town that a number of ministers from the French church were coming to Edinburgh to set up a residence. He desired that the town provide the ministers with the following: a temple in decent condition; a lodging for the ministers with five chambers, as close to the kirk as may be found, and provided with furniture at the town’s discretion; that the French strangers have a testimonial of the lord provost, to be welcomed and ‘uset freyndlie to do thair honest besynes’ and exercise their particular crafts without impediment; and that the town help with anything else that was necessary as long as it was not

³²⁶ Birrell, ‘Diary’, fo.34r.

³²⁷ Edin. TA (1581-96), fo.359.

³²⁸ Pipe = a Portuguese wooden cask, used for storage and as a measure of wine, holding 500 litres: *Chambers*, 1245.

³²⁹ Edin. TA (1581-96), fo.359.

³³⁰ *Edin. Recs.* (1589-1603), 255.

³³¹ *Edin. Recs.* (1589-1603), 256.

³³² *Edin. Recs.* (1589-1603), 276.

prejudicial to the town.³³³ How much of this was accepted is unclear, although it goes a long way in showing James's proprietary attitude towards the town.

Conclusion

What benefits did the town receive from its relationship with the crown and court? As has been shown, James requested money and assistance from the town with regularity. He requested that the town pay to transport ambassadors overseas, provide funding and transportation for the events surrounding his wedding, provide him with a guard whenever he deemed it necessary, and cover the costs of entertaining visiting dignitaries, both in housing and in food.

The relationship between the capital and the court was not always an easy one. Edinburgh took great exception to interference by the king, government and court in the selection of their council members and provost. Nonetheless, they were for the most part extremely quick to back down, once threatened with horning, and allowed the king his choices. Frustration with James's constant monetary demands upon the town were also a source of contention. Yet, again, the town rarely refused to grant the king the money he requested. However, in a few situations the town claimed poverty and either granted a smaller amount or provided a limit beyond which it would not pay. As far as James was concerned, any money was better than no money and he willingly accepted whatever the town granted. The town was very aware of its close relations with the court, enough to make Bowes comment in March 1592, upon the rumour that James planned to remain at Linlithgow and wished for the queen's company, the town 'partly conceives that the King and Chancellor do neither well like nor much trust them'.³³⁴

One of the more obvious benefits inherent in a close relationship between town and court related to the town's privileges and its charter. Due to the continually changing nature of governments, the first demand burghs made of new monarchs or regents was a confirmation of their charters. A general confirmation of burgh privileges had been made in 1555, 1563, December 1567, August 1571, July 1578 and October 1579. It has been argued that the length of James VI's reign was alarming to

³³³ *Edin. Recs.* (1573-1589), 458.

³³⁴ *CSP Scot.*, x, no.667.

burghs as only a series of short, bland acts ratifying their privileges were passed between 1593 and 1612. This did little to ease concern over the crown's close scrutiny of charters, especially as the crown was able to override acts of parliament, legal precedent and even the most ancient of burgh charters.³³⁵ By 1600, rather than being the primary defender of the burghs' liberties, the crown had become the chief offender when it came to dealing with legislation designed to protect the burghs.

Edinburgh's council agreed in January 1583 to obtain the king's assistance in obligating Lord Seton to accept a person, nominated by the burghs, to pass to France with him to 'attend upon the caus of the burrowes anent the customes'.³³⁶ The town was quite adept at taking advantage of their privileged position, and because of this often acted as the spokesman for all the Scottish burghs. A few months later, following the raid of Stirling in April 1584, James made a proclamation, which commanded his subjects to repress the treasonable attempts of the rebellious subjects and restore and establish the public peace. At this time, the king claimed to have good proof of the fidelity and readiness and benevolent service of the town of Edinburgh, and that they had not only offered their own bodily service to pass and convoy the king but also in the 'thankfull bestowing and lenning of thair money now and sundry tymes hertofair to ye advancement of his hienes service'. The provost then commanded and directed the town's inhabitants to serve under the charge of such captains as shall be commissioned, to pay any taxation set by the provost, and to keep a watch within or without the town. The provost elected 500 persons to pass with the king, created and constituted Henry Nisbet and James Nicoll, baillies, the chief and principal rulers, guiders and commanders of those appointed, and finally 'for thair better support and releif' selected Captain Hew Lauder and Captain Patrick Cranston to attend upon the governance of the said neighbours 'in and be all things as may best serve to ye fortherance of his majesties service'.³³⁷

The town also benefited from the extended residence of a number of ambassadors. In May 1587, notation was made of a substantial order of merchandise furnished to Monsieur de Courcelles, the French ambassador, by Edinburgh merchant Henry Nisbet. From January 1587, Nisbet sold the ambassador cloth (£70), silk,

³³⁵ Lynch, 'Crown and Burghs', 69.

³³⁶ Edin. Min., vii, fo.59r.

³³⁷ Edin. Min., vii, fos.83v-84r.

laces, buttons, cord, English worsted stockings, hats, a pair of brushes, and a beaver hat, to name a few, which amounted to £292 18s 6d. Courcelles agreed to pay Nisbet at his will either in Edinburgh or France,³³⁸ the option chosen was not stated. The case of Nisbet is undoubtedly one of many. It would have been expected of visiting ambassadors to use local merchants for any items that they needed during their residence as importing the necessary items from home was costly and caused unnecessary delays.

The same beneficial relationship was true of Edinburgh merchants and the Scottish court. It has already been mentioned that a number of Edinburgh burgesses, such as goldsmiths Thomas Foulis and George Heriot, younger, developed exceedingly close ties to the both the court and the royal family. Perhaps the greatest of these was Heriot, who was appointed as jeweller to the queen and appears to have been her primary supplier of imported goods. Other burgesses who held household appointments included James Inglis, master tailor, Gilbert Primrose, master surgeon, John Harlaw, master saddler, and Henry White, master cordiner.³³⁹ Not only burgesses with household appointments benefited, other Edinburgh inhabitants with connections to the court did as well, namely Janet Fockhart who listed among her debtors courtiers such as the Lords Spynie, Lindores and Glamis, Ladies Gowrie and Orkney, and court musician Robert Hudson.³⁴⁰

³³⁸ *CSP Scot.*, ix, no.350.

³³⁹ Calderwood, viii, appendix: 122; Appendix 1.

³⁴⁰ Sanderson, 'Edinburgh Merchants', 183-84; see also M.H.B. Sanderson, *Mary Stewart's People: Life in Mary Stewart's Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1987).

Chapter 5: Conclusion

The Renaissance courts of Europe displayed similar governmental as well as household organizations, with adaptations that made them suitable for each country. Factions were perhaps the most enduring part of the court; they channelled the course of politics, they shaped and damaged careers, and they covered the whole of life at court. The court was the arena for factionalism, but only when the natural interplay of interests went wrong. Art patronage seems to have been the most diverse activity with France concentrating more on painting, sculpture and architecture, and England leading the way in drama. However, both countries monarchs and courts made use of art for propagandist purposes. Court life varied according to monarch and kingdom, but in general there was an underlying desire to gain the favour of the monarch, a natural consequence of a personal monarchy, that continued throughout the Renaissance.

Renaissance Scottish courts were highly active: peripatetic in nature and variable in structure. Without the instability and factionalism of the minorities, it is likely that the Scottish court would have been able to shine alongside its French cousin. Arts and culture were important to Scotland's kings and queen as can be seen through patronage during the personal reigns, which, with the exception of James VI's, were unfortunately brief. The Reformation also took its toll on the court through its restrictive effects on the arts. The nobility remained important within the court, being the primary players in factionalism. The Scottish courts were forever changing and forever learning, and in no way whatsoever should they be described as inferior to the elaborate Renaissance and early modern courts of Europe. However, because of their frequently peripatetic nature, a structure still highly tied to the local kin-based society, and an overabundance of minority regimes, they were unable to create a firm foundation on which to build a reputation comparable to their neighbours.

Historians of the past have painted an exceedingly negative depiction of the personal lifestyle and royal court of James VI & I. These destructive accounts can, for the most part, be traced back to contemporaries; Sir Anthony Weldon, an English courtier

who lost favour during James's rule in England, and two other Englishmen, Arthur Wilson and Francis Osborne, both of whom had strong anti-Stewart connections.¹ This damage to the royal image was perpetuated by David Harris Willson,² whose aversion to James's perceived personal habits permeates one of the more complete academic studies of that reign. James's years in Scotland appear to have suffered the greatest harm, with nearly all faults depicted in the English reign traced back to either the king's early childhood or the arrival of Esmé Stewart. Although academic historians are doing much to rehabilitate the image of James VI & I, Anna, and the Scottish courtiers and court, other writers, such as Bryan Bevan and Antonia Fraser,³ are perpetuating much of the negativity put forth by Weldon and Willson.

Was young James VI's childhood as bleak and unloving as Willson, who states that James slept in a 'gloomy bed of black damask', and Fraser, who describes the countess of Mar as a 'harsh surrogate parent', would have readers believe?⁴ This is doubtful. James, as has been shown, was surrounded by loyal household retainers, devoted guardians in the form of Annabelle Murray, countess of Mar, Alexander Erskine, master of Mar, and schoolmates with whom he forged close, long-term relationships. The decision to raise James under the guardianship of the earl and countess of Mar had a profound effect on the rest of his life as it provided a young (for all intents and purposes) orphan with a foster family. The countess of Mar ('Lady Minny'), was the closest to a mother that the young king had ever known and her son was treated as a brother. After the death of the 1st earl of Mar, his brother Alexander

¹ These early studies were Sir Anthony Weldon's *Court and Character of King James*, Arthur Wilson's *The Life and Reign of King James I*, and Francis Osborne's *Traditional Memoirs of the Reign of King James the First*. Wilson was connected with the households of the earls of Essex and Warwick, neither of whom was close to the king. Osborne's sympathies lay with the king's opponents and Parliamentarians although he had served in the household of the earl of Pembroke, James's Lord Chamberlain. R. Lockyer, *James VI & I*, Profiles in Power series (London, 1998), 2-4. One of the first contextualising discussions of the hostile English writers, especially Weldon, can be found in J. Wormald, 'James VI & I: Two Kings or One?', *History*, vol.68, 1983.

² D. H. Willson, *King James VI & I* (London, 1956).

³ B. Bevan, *King James VI of Scotland & I of England* (London, 1996) and A. Fraser, *King James VI of Scotland, I of England* (London, 1974). Bevan perpetuates much of the homophobic negativity of Willson. He claims that Buchanan and Young failed to teach the king how to conduct himself as a prince, has little doubt that James's love affair with Lennox was consummated, and blames Lennox for drawing the king to 'carnal lust', and encouraging his bawdy talk, oaths and indelicate jests: Bevan, *James VI & I*, 15, 20, 21. Fraser is less willing to dwell on the king's supposed homosexuality but paints Scotland, its court, and its nobles in a very unflattering light. She describes Scottish nobles as 'ever feudacious', the country which James ruled was 'an unwelcoming wasps' nest', and his love of hunting and literature was probably what enabled him to survive an 'otherwise fairly unendurable existence': Fraser, *James VI & I*, 18, 25, 51.

⁴ Chapter 2: 20; Fraser, *James VI & I*, 29.

stepped in as Stirling Castle's father figure. James was obviously fond of Alexander and transferred much of that affection to his eldest surviving son, Thomas. The importance of the Erskines and their hold on the king's favour should not be underplayed. Referring to them as 'favourites' is not sufficient. Although they were neither Stewarts nor blood relations, they were indeed the king's family. Apart from Esmé Stewart's children, no Scottish family possessed such a stranglehold on James VI's affections.

That James was raised with little female companionship, outside the presence of the countess of Mar, was not unusual in either a Scottish or European context. Outside of a sister or mother, of whom James had neither, the only female presence that would be expected around a young king or prince would be that of his guardian's wife, and a nurse or governess. Although the imprisonment of his mother prevented any direct contact with his only living parent, had Mary not been deposed, young James would still have been raised in Stirling Castle under the watchful eye of the Erskines of Mar.

James has often been criticised for a negative view of and attitude towards women. Maurice Lee perpetuates the view of the king as a misogynist, stating that James regarded women as vain, ambitious, greedy and untruthful.⁵ Indeed, from the writings of the king, it would be difficult to disprove this. However, James's actions would seem to suggest a different view. If he held such a negative view of women, why then did he behave so generously to them? James provided elaborate gifts of jewellery to his wife at the births and baptisms of their children and to the wives of courtiers at their weddings and the delivery and baptisms of children.⁶ Gifts to the queen would be expected, but gifts to noblewomen give the impression of a genuine fondness. He also provided generous monetary gifts and pensions to long-term female servitors, especially his nurse, her daughters, and his laundress, as well as the wives and daughters of favoured servitors.⁷ Such munificence to his female servitors, and an apparent lifetime devotion to his nurse, Helen Little, would appear to disprove the notion of a misogynist king.

⁵ M. Lee, Jr, *Great Britain's Solomon: James VI and I in his Three Kingdoms* (Urbana & Chicago, 1990), 142.

⁶ Chapter 3: 155, 158, 166.

⁷ Chapter 2: Lifetime Servitors, 109-19; chapter 3: 212.

Suggestions of homosexuality and the influence of good-looking young favourites have further damaged James's reputation as a strong king. English agent Thomas Fowler stated, in 1581, that the 'king is too much carried by young men that lie in his chamber and are his minions'.⁸ From thence on, the term 'minion' has been viewed with all manner of negative connotations in conjunction with James's court, impartial or not. 'Minion' was originally used in England as a description for the young friends that constantly surrounded Henry VIII,⁹ his 'brat pack', and as such carried no suggestion of homosexuality. Therefore, it is possible that Fowler, writing from an English perspective, used the term in the context of Henry VIII, and that it is only later historians who have attached a deeper meaning to that one, brief sentence. Keith Brown states that to be 'ane of the Kingis chiefe mynonis' as Walter Stewart, prior of Blantyre, was described, or 'the king's minion' as Alexander Lindsay was, or to be called, as Sir George Hume was, 'ane of his upstart courtiers', was a recognition of power, and was not simply derogatory.¹⁰

As for the reports of the king's homosexuality, there is nothing to substantiate these claims in the historical accounts. Much of the speculation arises from James's relationship with Esmé Stewart and the resulting sensationalised reports from English agents and the Scottish Kirk, both of whom had their own agendas for which reporting the unvarnished truth rarely advanced their causes. It was not at all unusual in European courts for servitors and courtiers to sleep in the king's chamber as it allowed an immediate response to any request, along with providing a convenient bodyguard. Neither should the suggestion that Lennox, or other early favourites, slept in bed with the king be taken out of context, especially as sleeping arrangements were much less rigidly defined than they would be today. People slept where they could, be that a pallet on the floor or the royal bed, depending upon the person, his rank, and his closeness to the king. James also ably fulfilled his duty in begetting several children upon his queen.

James's relationship with Lennox, in particular, has been given a more sinister explanation than it deserved. Willson claimed that Esmé was 'fascinating but sinister', his charms were 'tawdry and superficial', the French court had made him 'no fit

⁸ Chapter 2: 34.

⁹ Thanks to Tony Goodman for bringing this to my attention. It was also a term used to describe the friends and associates of Henry III of France.

¹⁰ Brown, *Bloodfeud*, 117 (Melville, *Memoirs*, p40; *CSP Scot*, x, pp102 & 575).

companion', he and the French courtiers were 'licentious and filthy-tongued', and his influence was, without exception, 'malignant'.¹¹ Esmé was the first close relation that the young king had come to know, not to mention the first to treat James as an adult. He also encouraged James's love of literature and the importance of the Castalian Band. That Lennox was handsome and possessed of the polished manners of the French court only served to increase the king's feelings of hero-worship. It should not be surprising that a parentless, teenage king would wish for his older, wiser and beloved cousin to be allowed significant political powers, nor should James's love for Lennox be labelled as 'perverted'.¹² Lennox's contemporaries were not concerned about his effect on the king's emotional and psychological well-being. They wanted him removed because of his influence on the king and power over the government, to the detriment of their own political positions. The Scottish Kirk wanted him removed because they saw his Catholic faith as a threat. Historians blessed with hindsight have made the relationship between James and Lennox more sinister than it was.

Some of the king's favourite pastimes have also been scrutinised unfairly: his love of hunting and the occasional drinking session have been viewed negatively. Hunting was one of the most noble and kingly pursuits available to James, and it was fortunate that he enjoyed it as much as he did. Apart from the sportsmanship associated with the hunt, it was an important courtly activity. The reason being that the king hunted in the company of nobles and courtiers, thus providing them with extended, informal, individual access to the monarch far away from the physical confines of the court. What better opportunity to present your petition to the king than while he was relaxed and enjoying the hunt? James was happy, doing what he loved best, and he was accessible, the most important factor as far as courtiers were concerned. The same can be said of the king's drinking and gambling. If James was drinking, it was most likely accompanied with literary discussions or over a game of cards, as he in no way drank to the extent of his Danish in-laws. Playing cards was another kingly pursuit and an excellent opportunity for courtiers to have access, in a very informal manner, to the king. And James did play cards as several entries in the treasurer's accounts list payments for the king to play at cards. He also gave a royal

¹¹ Willson, *James VI&I*, 32, 33, 35.

¹² Willson, *James VI&I*, 47.

warrant to a ‘maker of playing cards’.¹³ Therefore, the pursuits that so occupied the king’s time were constructive and important to the business of politics. Professor Lee supports this idea, suggesting that, in the king’s view, the court and hunting field were places for fun and relaxation as well as business.¹⁴

Recent research by Maureen Meikle¹⁵ into Anna’s involvement in court and politics will hopefully put to rest much of the negative press that the queen has received. Anna has been saddled with the image of a naïve, foolish and extravagant queen, who made no impact on the royal court. Willson even went so far as to question James’s comparison of his own wife to the goddesses Cytherea, Diana and Minerva. The queen’s high spirits and sprightliness were considered shallow and vacuous, while her love for gaiety, masques and pageants was ‘childish rather than courtly’.¹⁶ Although the queen was young, she was anything but childish. Her interest in entertainments at court was understandable; she had been raised in an active Scandinavian court that enjoyed courtly activities such as masques and pageants. Her impact on the court can be seen in many forms. Her presence encouraged the king to limit access to the bedchambers. She took an active interest in politics and made her position clearly known in the ongoing argument over Prince Henry’s guardianship. Furthermore, she was exceedingly loyal to her ladies-in-waiting, such as Margaret Vinstarr and Beatrice Ruthven, and argued vociferously when faced with their removals.¹⁷

The extravagance of the court, after 1590, may have been extreme by contemporary Scottish standards, but not in relation to European courts. Anna was raised in a wealthier, more elaborate court, which is especially clear from accounts of the preparations undertaken for her wedding,¹⁸ therefore it was not unusual for her to spend large amounts on clothing and jewellery. James, not to be outdone by his wife, amassed large debts to Robert Jossie that often amounted to more than Anna’s.¹⁹ Such

¹³ Appendix 2.

¹⁴ Lee, *Great Britain’s Solomon*, 142.

¹⁵ M. M. Meikle, ‘A meddlesome princess: Anna of Denmark and Scottish court politics, 1589-1603’, in Goodare and Lynch, *James VI*, chapter 7, and M. M. Meikle “‘Holde her at the Oeconomicke rule of the House”: Anna of Denmark and Scottish Court Finances, 1589-1603’, in E. Ewan and M.M. Meikle (eds.), *Women in Scotland, c.1100-c.1750* (East Linton, 1999), 105-111.

¹⁶ Willson, *James VI & I*, 94; Bevan, *James VI & I*, 45.

¹⁷ Chapter 2: 59-60.

¹⁸ Chapter 2: 50.

¹⁹ Thanks to Julian Goodare for pointing out that James did outspend Anna, on occasion, in Jossie’s accounts. See also Chapter 3: clothing and jewellery, 155-173.

extravagance can be explained in one of two manners: it was either a conscious effort to increase the international image of the Scottish court, thus making Scotland's king a more worthy-looking successor to the English crown; or it was simply spending for the sake of spending. James, obsessed with inheriting Elizabeth's crown, made every effort to appear a politically worthy successor, so there is no reason not to suggest he wanted to raise the style and image of his court. He did rebuild Stirling's chapel royal for Henry's baptism and made significant additions and improvements to Dunfermline Palace as Anna's residence of choice. However, if James had truly wanted to increase Scotland's image, it would have been wise for him to concentrate on improving more royal residences, the country's most visual signs of royalty, rather than allowing palaces, such as Linlithgow, to decay until entire sections collapsed.²⁰ As for Anna, she spent for the sake of spending and for the joy of being surrounded by beautiful and glittering items. James may have felt the need to spend more money himself so as not to be eclipsed by his wife, as relatively minor amounts of money were used on clothing, jewellery and household furnishings before their marriage, thereby lending weight to the suggestion of spending for the sake of spending. Rather than choosing one reason over the other, it is very likely that both image enhancement and conspicuous consumption were the factors behind the ever-increasing royal expenditures.

James's English subsidy, and the reason behind it, is also a point of discussion between historians. Who was exploiting whom in relation to the subsidy? Some historians, such as Jenny Wormald, would suggest that James was in control, giving the reason that Elizabeth did not normally give handouts. Elizabeth's reason for providing James with his subsidy was a worry that James could side with France or Spain against England; she was paying for his support.²¹ Others, such as Julian Goodare, suggest Elizabeth clearly controlled the reins.²² He suggests that Elizabeth kept the sum of the annuity, or 'gratuity' as the English called it, deliberately vague, that the payments fluctuated with James's fluctuating value to the queen, and that the amounts received, as gifts, by James were only a fraction of the amount loaned to France and the United Netherlands. Therefore, as these were gifts, they demonstrated

²⁰ Chapter 3: 140-41.

²¹ Thanks to Jenny Wormald for introducing the discussion about various interpretations of the English subsidy.

²² J. Goodare, 'James VI's English subsidy', in Goodare and Lynch, *James VI*, 110-45.

Elizabeth's high status and forced James 'to make the obsequious genuflexions'.²³ As Goodare points out, Scotland's poverty and England's apparent willingness to pay 'meant that Elizabeth was able to buy him cheap'.²⁴ The courtiers, on the other hand, simply wanted secure financial support and were quite happy to favour whomever regularly supplied money, that being England. Thus, although James was well aware that England needed to keep Scotland as an ally, and he was by no means averse to playing both side of the political fence, he was in desperate need of the money Elizabeth provided. Scotland's financial reliance upon the subsidy is clearly seen through the treasurer's accounts, in particular because she increased James's income by about one-sixth.²⁵ Both James and Elizabeth had something to hold over the other, but Elizabeth's position seems to have been the stronger, in no small part due to James's financial desperation.

The term 'factionalism' is often given a negative connotation,²⁶ suggesting that any court that displayed factionalism was replete with disruptions. The term should be viewed constructively as a description for the natural interplay of competing interests, in particular those found at court. Although not a primary concern of this study, factionalism was an important component of court life. It was the court itself that became the arena for factionalism, but only when the natural interplay went wrong. In other words, when local feuds were not settled within the localities they may have played out at court through whatever nobles and courtiers were involved. Or, as has been stated by one historian, Scotland's feuding society embraced political life in its entirety, from locality to court.²⁷

The prevailing factional interests during James VI's reign were related to international support, primarily whether the country should forge alliances with England or France. There were also conflicts between the supporters of James VI and those of his mother in the years following Mary's abdication, just as Lennox's and Arran's followers argued over control and direction of the country in the early 1580s, going so far as to have two separately sitting councils. Events such as the Ruthven

²³ Goodare, 'English subsidy', 113, 114, 121, 122.

²⁴ Goodare, 'English subsidy', 125.

²⁵ E.21/61-76, E.22/6 Treasurer's Accounts, 1580-1604; Goodare, 'English subsidy', 120-21.

²⁶ *Chambers*, 577: a small group of people formed of dissenting members of a larger group, *esp* in politics, *usu* used in a negative sense; any rebellious group; dissension.

²⁷ Brown, *Bloodfeud*, 108.

Raid of August 1582, the king's escape in June 1583, and the return of the Banished Lords and fall of Arran in 1585 led to constantly shifting factional politics. The king himself conspired against the Ruthven retinue in order to help facilitate Arran's return to power.²⁸ Religion further spurred factional politics, particularly when the king appeared disinclined to punish the earl of Huntly and his Catholic Lords. But it was the early 1590s, during Chancellor Maitland's final years, which were especially bad for factionalism. Not only had the Scottish courtiers developed an intense hatred for Maitland and his policies, just as Maitland hated the courtiers, but the chancellor had also found an influential opponent in the person of the young queen. It has been suggested that factionalism was greatly reduced following the defeat of Huntly and Bothwell in 1594-95 and the growth of the king's own control over court politics.²⁹

Reports from foreign agents relating news of the Scottish court to their home governments must be viewed with caution. Agents maintained their own agendas, and therefore the underlying reasons behind reports, or the manner in which they were reported, may have held a significance then of which we, as readers today, would be completely unaware. On a more obvious note, English reports were very concerned with the status of support for England, the positions of specific nobles and courtiers who at the time supported the English alliance, and worries over movements of the French or Spanish. The problem lies in the fact that much of what the agents reported was rumour and either never occurred or occurred in a different form from that suggested. If the reports had been printed at that time, they would have been the equivalent of today's tabloids and gossip-columns; interesting reading, but not something on which to base important decisions. Therefore, although there is a large amount of useful information to be taken from such accounts, it must also be extracted carefully and with an eye to the political situation of the time.

Scotland's royal household is of much interest as it was the core of the court. Although James's household and court in Scotland were considered small in comparison to contemporaries, they were fully functioning establishments that supported a healthy court culture. Court access and structure were informal, a result

²⁸ Brown, *Bloodfeud*, 113.

²⁹ Brown, *Bloodfeud*, 130, and for more information on factionalism and court politics, 108-43; and for Anna's involvement in politics see Meikle, 'A meddlesome princess', 126-40.

of decades of French influence,³⁰ years of minority, and a nobility that were of an age with the king. The lack of major artistic patronage during the Scottish reign was a result of lack of funds rather than a lack of desire. Financial strictures resulted in relatively few building projects of any magnitude, although those undertaken were very impressive. When money was available, vital repairs to the royal buildings were carried out, as shown by the master of works report of 1583-84, leaving improvements and additions as a low priority. Similarly, James does not appear to have made any significant additions to the royal collection of tapestries and wall hangings. Literary patronage, on the other hand, flourished under the Castalian band. Although painters survived with steady portraiture work, it was the goldsmiths who experienced the greatest financial gains of the reign. The arrival of a queen who loved jewellery meant not only royal business for the goldsmiths but business from Scottish courtiers wanting to please the royal family and influence one another.

James VI was very fortunate to be surrounded by a loyal group of long-term servitors. English agents often reported changes in the composition of the court and household, although these reports were frequently incorrect and misleading, and numerous attempts were made to curb financial abuses. But rarely was a change noted of officers in the household, even more so amongst those who served the king since his infancy. Servitors who lost their positions were either assistants whose names did not appear in formal accounts or those who acquired their positions through political or court connections. For the most part, those who served the king in the most intimate and daily capacities had served him since he was a child.

Some of the most influential people within the royal household, the gentlemen of the chamber, are the most difficult to place with any precision. The reason for this lies in appointments that were politically motivated and offices that received no annual fee, therefore their names did not appear with any regularity within the financial accounts, nor did their appointments always appear within the register of the Privy Seal.

There are some gentleman servants, such as the cupbearers, carvers and servers, who did appear regularly within the accounts. Many of these positions were

³⁰ Unlike the informal structures and access found in France and Scotland, England and Spain retained a much more formalised and regulated court structure.

filled by members of the same families, namely the Erskines and Elphinstones.³¹ The Erskines started at the top of the royal court; the 2nd earl of Mar held a significant political position as a privy councillor and one of the king's intimates while Sir Thomas was given important chamber positions which provided him with enviable access to the king. They are a clear example of Keith Brown's statement that intimacy was power.³² The Elphinstones held important chamber positions as gentlemen servants, often replacing one another, and Michael rose to the position of master of the household. Although the Stewarts did receive preferment in chamber and household offices, they were too frequently jostling each other for control and consequently never held their offices for any duration. The exception was Ludovick, 2nd duke of Lennox who was granted his father's titles of Lord Great Chamberlain and First Gentleman of the Chamber.

Many of James's gentlemen of the chamber provided decades of loyal service. Sir Thomas Erskine was present in the king's chamber from 1579, became chamberlain depute in 1592 (following in the footsteps of his father), and further increased his status in England. Sir Thomas's brother, James, replaced his brother as a royal server. Another Stirling classmate that retained an influential chamber position for nearly two decades was Walter Stewart, who was a gentleman of the chamber as well as an important political figure. Michael, James and William Elphinstone all served regularly as gentlemen servants between 1579 and the removal of the court to England. The only other long-standing gentleman of the chamber was Roger Aston,³³ who provided years of service to the king, not to mention years of informative letters to the English government. These servitors, however, were in the minority, as far as length of service for chamber gentlemen is concerned. The chamber, as the most politically influenced section of the household, saw a higher rate of change in personnel than the lower, service-based portions of the household establishment.

Servitude within the lower body of the household was remarkably constant. Many heads of the various household divisions retained their positions throughout the king's reign.³⁴ Valets in the king's chamber, the masters of the king's wine cellar, ale cellar, larder, pantry and vessels, and various kitchen help appear to have retained

³¹ Appendix 1: Gentlemen servants; Chapter 2: Stirling classmates & Lifetime servitors.

³² Brown, *Bloodfeud*, 116.

³³ Chapter 2: 111-13.

³⁴ Appendix 1; Chapter 2: Lifetime servitors.

their positions until death or retirement. Many of these positions were kept within families, such as the Bowies in the wine cellar, the pastry-chef Rannalds, Setons in the court kitchen, Lambs in the king's kitchen, the Galbraiths of the pantry, and the Boags of the ale cellar. In such cases, the younger sons and brothers entered as aides and worked their way up through the ranks to eventually head the department. There is no evidence in the records to show any type of jostling for these lower-ranking positions. Although a lower-household position was seen as a means of access to the king and court in England, such was not the case in Scotland. Aside from influential positions in the chamber and stables, a majority of the royal household retainers were simply servants who were there to provide for the king and his family, rather than to seek out their own political advancement.

The size of the household did grow quite significantly between 1580 and 1596,³⁵ not only through the additional establishments of Anna and Henry. The king's household bill of May 1580 denotes approximately 125 people, including the 25 gentlemen pensioners that were to attend the king in the fields.³⁶ The household of November 1582 had increased to approximately 160 people. The February 1591 bill listed 115 people, the queen's noted 58 people with 23 shared servants in the stables, making a total of nearly 200 household retainers.³⁷ The king's household in 1596 counted 98 people while the queen's numbered 85, making a total of 183 servitors.³⁸ Ninety-two additional people received payment or fees for service to the king and 14 more for the queen, although they were not included in the bill of household, making a grand household total of 289. These amounts are significantly more than James IV's household, which is listed to have about 160 officers, and slightly smaller than James V's household of 1530, which recorded between 300 to 350 officers.³⁹ The reason for the decrease in the size of the 1596 'official' household bill can be found in the pruning efforts of the Octavians, although very few permanent changes occurred within the ranks of the household officers. However, these numbers would all need to be doubled, or tripled, to account for the unlisted servants, family members, and

³⁵ See Appendix 2: Bills of Household.

³⁶ A Lord Chamberlain and depute, 24 ordinary gentlemen, and six extraordinary gentlemen of the chamber were added to the king's household in October 1580.

³⁷ This does not include members of the king's guard, several servants within the hunting establishment, the king's gardeners, or the craftsmen.

³⁸ This does not include Prince Henry's household, which contained approximately 35 people in its early stages.

³⁹ Thomas, 'Court of James V', 41.

various retainers who accompanied both courtiers and household servitors to court. Thus, it is not unreasonable to suggest that the combined royal households could have contained approximately 800 people by the time of the move to England.

The cost of running the household increased apace with size. Unlike England, Scotland had no formal provision for purveyance. Food, drink and household furnishings could come from any number of merchants and for any price. A document written with the assistance of one of James V's former masters of the household, Sir James Learmonth of Dairsie, as guidance for the reform of the household of James VI, advised that the steward was to buy supplies with ready cash whenever possible and to be cautious when obtaining supplies on credit.⁴⁰ This is perhaps one explanation of James's fondness for issuing royal requests of his nobility for wild meat and other agrarian products to grace the tables at royal banquets. It also would explain why the royal accounts are skewed so heavily towards running the household rather than any types of capital or building expenditures.

During the reign of James VI, the Scottish court lost much of its peripatetic nature. This is not to say that James was not exceedingly fond of his hunting excursions and away as often as he could arrange. James's court, however, became more settled within its perimeter of royal residences: Edinburgh/Holyroodhouse, Stirling, Linlithgow, Falkland, and Dunfermline.⁴¹ The court was settled at Holyroodhouse over half of the time between 1579 and 1603, and if not there it was likely ensconced at either Stirling Castle, Falkland Palace, or Dalkeith Palace, usually for stays of several weeks or, perhaps, months, but the base, most definitely, had become Edinburgh. James himself moved from hunting lodge to hunting lodge, but no longer did the court as a whole display the peripatetic nature seen during the reign of James V when sojourns to royal residences often lasted no more than three or four days, and rarely more than three or four weeks.⁴² The king also displayed a definite preference to being a guest rather than a host, especially if he could live in a residence as lovely as Dalkeith Palace. Ever since his childhood he had taken great joy in spending time at the expense of his nobles, primarily with Lennox at Dalkeith and

⁴⁰ E.34/7; Thomas, 'Court of James V', 31, 384.

⁴¹ Chapter 3: Royal venues.

⁴² Thomas, 'Court of James V', 60.

later with Arran at Dirleton. The existing household books⁴³ describe him enjoying the hospitality of the duke of Lennox, earl of Mar, Lord Livingston, the Lord Treasurer, and the Lord Secretary. As for the hunting parties, although the master household recorded the funds for most days' meals, housing and additional food and entertainment would have been provided by whichever local laird or noble resided nearby.

The Scottish court of James VI may not have been a leader of style, as the French court, but it held its own. James retained several royal residences that he visited repeatedly. He made his architectural contributions through the re-built chapel royal at Stirling Castle, the Queen's Lodgings at Dunfermline, and building work in preparation for his Scottish visit of 1617. However, because he showed little interest in pursuing building projects to the extent of those favoured by James IV and James V, what he did accomplish seems to have been overlooked.

A severe cash-flow problem, especially during the final years in Scotland, meant that court ceremony was pruned drastically.⁴⁴ For this reason, Prince Henry's was the last elaborate baptismal celebration in Scotland. The baptisms of the other royal children were much less involved events, the most austere of which was Elizabeth's, held during the reign of the Octavians. During this time, however, Anna continued to augment her collections of jewellery and clothing, as did James: it would appear that court ceremony was less important than personal beautification.

While the court was spending itself into severe debt, Edinburgh's merchants and burgesses were amassing vast personal fortunes and advancing the image of the town. They, rather than the penurious crown, appear to have been Scotland's style leaders. The homes of the town provost and influential council members were the chosen sites to host banquets for visiting ambassadors as well as the favoured lodgings for foreign visitors, and on occasion the king and queen themselves.⁴⁵ Although James undoubtedly preferred being a guest to being a host, it would seem logical that important visitors would be housed and entertained in the most impressive locations, wherever those may be. That the chosen locations were within Edinburgh

⁴³ Appendix 4.

⁴⁴ Goodare and Lynch, 'Universal King', 9.

⁴⁵ Chapter 4: Visitors to the Court, 283-91.

would suggest that they displayed a level of style and elegance slightly higher than that at court.

Edinburgh was the saving grace of the Scottish court. Without the aide of funds from the town's council and burgesses, the court would have found it difficult to function on a sufficiently impressive level. If not for Edinburgh, James would have discovered difficulties in rescuing his wife from Norway and in returning her to Scotland.⁴⁶ The town was especially important in relation to the visits of foreign ambassadors and dignitaries who were housed, wined, dined and propined. Edinburgh's council made an important contribution to nearly every major event involving the court at Holyroodhouse and elsewhere. In return, Edinburgh's merchants and craftsmen benefited financially from close relations with the king and Scottish courtiers, while the town itself received preferential status.

Edinburgh was becoming a capital in a new form during the reign of James VI. As the importance of the court and government increased, so to did the importance of Edinburgh as the capital and foremost royal burgh. One reason for this progression was the choice of Edinburgh as the permanent location of all governmental departments and the College of Justice. Another reason was an increasing reliance on the town for entertainment and provisions for the court. Edinburgh benefited greatly from the gradual settling of the court and government in the town, while James's court benefited from an economically strong town which could provide any and all necessary supplies, finance and host various royal activities, and make available citizens for an informal royal guard. It was a mutually beneficial arrangement.

The court of James VI was multi-faceted. It was not the uncouth den of iniquity so often favoured as a description. Many of James's nobles were well educated, especially his Stirling classmates; the king and his courtiers enjoyed refined, intellectual activities such as literary discussions; they delighted in courtly pageants, fireworks displays and tournaments; and they vigorously pursued the established royal activities of hunting and cards. Although constrained by limited finances, James and

⁴⁶ It would not have reflected well on Scotland had James been forced to beg a lift home from Denmark because there was no money to outfit a ship to convey him and his courtiers to Scotland.

Anna spent as a royal couple would be expected to spend – lavishly, although for the most part on personal adornments and gifts rather than on entertainment and ceremonies or palaces and household décor. James VI's royal household, at the end of the sixteenth century, was significantly larger than that of James IV, at the beginning of the century. Not only was it large but many of the departments were run by men, and women, who had been in the king's employ his entire life and provided loyal service. The court had an intimate and advantageous relationship with Edinburgh which served to further increase the town's standing as well as increase many personal fortunes for men such as George Heriot and Robert Jossie.

James VI's reign in Scotland provided more than just excellent experience in ruling a country. It allowed him to develop a network of family, intimates, household servitors and politicians who assisted and supported him throughout the years of his reign in England.

Appendix I: Royal Household
Ranking According to Bills of Household

First / last appearance in accounts¹

King’s Household:
Master household

John Cunningham of Drumquhassell	Mar 1568	1573
Alan, Lord Cathcart	1579	May 1580
James Colville of Easter Weymss	1579	1581
Mungo Graham of Rathernis (son of 2 nd earl of Montrose)	1579	Oct 1589
Sir John Murray of Tullibardine	1579	1592
James Chisholm of Cromlix / Dundorn	1582	Dec 1591
Sir John Seton of Barnes (‘1 st master’ of king’s household)	Jan 1586	Jul 1587
David Beaton of Melgund	Mar 1589	Jun 1592
Sir Andrew Melville of Garvock (bros. Halhill, Murdocairnie)	Mar 1589	1605
Sir Michael Elphinstone (son of 2 nd Lord Elphinstone)	Jun 1592	1605
John Erskine, earl of Mar (‘Great Maister Houshold’)	Aug 1594	
Sir James Anstruther of that ilk	Mar 1601	
Robert Stewart	Mar 1601	
Henry Charters of Kinfauns	1601	1602
Sir Michael Balfour of Burleigh	Feb 1601	1603

High chamberlain

Esmé Stewart, duke of Lennox	Sep 1580	May 1583
Ludovick Stewart, 2 nd duke of Lennox	Sep 1583	Feb 1624

Chamberlain depute

Alexander Erskine of Gogar, master of Mar	Sep 1580	Mar 1589
Alexander Lindsay, Lord Spynie	Oct 1589	Dec 1591
Sir Thomas Erskine of Gogar	1592	
Sir James Sandilands of Slamanno	Aug 1600	

Master of the wardrobe

William Beaton	1573	1578
James Murray	Jun 1579	1583
Patrick Gray, master of Gray	Oct 1584	1595
William Keith	1586	1586
George Home of Spot (1605, earl of Dunbar)	Apr 1590	1599

Captain of the guard

Captain James Stewart of Bothwellmuir	Mar 1580	Feb 1581
Esmé Stewart, duke of Lennox	Mar 1581	
William Stewart, commendator of Pittenweem	1582	1585
Sir Thomas Lyon, master of Glamis	Nov 1585	Nov 1588
Mr Alexander Lindsay, Lord Spynie	Nov 1588	
George Gordon, earl of Huntly	Dec 1588	Mar 1589
Sir John Carmichael of that ilk	Dec 1592	1596
Andrew Stewart, Lord Ochiltree	1593?	
Alexander Home, Lord Home (1605, earl of Home)	Sep 1593	1594
Sir Thomas Erskine of Gogar	Nov 1600	Mar 1601

¹ Please see list of sources at end of Appendix 1. Officers are noted according to payments and mentions primarily through exchequer accounts and Privy Seal appointments.

Master of the stable

Patrick Drummond of Carnok	Nov 1579	Jul 1582
Mr William Erskine, commendator of Paisley	1579	May 1580
James Preston of Balaferle	1578	1582
John Livingston of Abercorn (master stabler to Queen Mary)	1580	1595
David Home of Cranshaws	Jul 1582	
George Home	1582	Oct 1589
Sir David Lindsay, master of Crawford (chief master stabler)	Aug 1583	
Sir David Murray of Gospertie (Lord Scone, 1621 V. Stormont)	1583	1599
Sir John Carmichael of that ilk (principal master stabler)	1585	1593
Mr William Leslie	1586	1595
John Shaw (extraordinary master stabler)	Jun 1591	1592
William Home	Dec 1591	Feb 1595
Alexander Livingston of Pentasken	Oct 1595	1599
John Home of Fentonhall / North Berwick	1596	Apr 1599
John Hamilton	1599	

Gentleman servants:

Servers / sewers

Michael Elphinstone (master server -1579)	1578	1580
Thomas Erskine of Gogar (1606 V. Fenton, 1619 e. of Kellie)	Aug 1579	Dec 1591
William Elphinstone	Nov 1579	1596
Patrick Murray of Geanies (brother of Balvaird)	1582	Nov 1593
Patrick Stewart, earl of Orkney (Henry’s baptism)	Aug 1594	
James Erskine (brother of Sir Thomas of Gogar)	1596	Jul 1600

Cupbearers / coppers

David Murray	Apr 1580	1582
James Elphinstone	May 1580	1596
John Lindsay (brother of earl of Crawford)	1582	1584
Robert Melville, younger	1582	1584
James Cunningham, earl of Glencairn (Henry’s baptism)	Aug 1594	
Mr Gilbert Ogilvie	1596	

Carvers

Andrew Wood of Largo	Nov 1577	Jul 1582
Robert Erskine, apparent of Little Sauchie	Sep 1578	1579
Michael Elphinstone	May 1580	Apr 1593
James Anstruther of that ilk	1582	1584
Patrick Hume, apparent of Polwarth (poet)	1582	Oct 1589
John Graham, earl of Montrose (Henry’s baptism)	Aug 1594	
James Lundie	Apr 1596	
Richard Preston [of Haltree]	1596	
Mr Patrick Morton	1596	

Gentleman servants - no specification

Robert Leslie	1581	
Harry Shaw	1581	
Andrew Moir	1582	
Sir James Melville of Halhill (bros. Garvock, Murdocairnie)	1585	1589
Sir Patrick Vaus of Barnebarroch	1589	1591

Master elimosinar / almoner

Mr Peter Young of Seton	Oct 1577	1599
Depute Mr John Scrimgeour	Dec 1591	
Mr John Young	1595	1599

Consignis (nearest in blood)

Elizabeth Stewart, countess of Arran	1582	1585
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Pedagogue		
Mr George Buchanan	1572	May 1580
Mr Peter Young	1572	1581
Master of works		
Sir William McDougall	1567	1579
Sir Robert Drummond of Carnock	Apr 1579	1583
William Schaw	Dec 1583	Jul 1602
David Cunningham of Robertland	Jul 1602	1607
Master hunter		
John Home (brother of Alexander Home of Manderston)	1580	May 1593
Mr Patrick Home	Apr 1602	
Great master usher		
George Douglas of Rungallie	Dec 1580	
Lord John Fleming (1606, earl of Wigtown)	Aug 1583	Sep 1589
Gentlemen in the privy chamber		
Robert Erskine, apparent of Little Sauchie	1579	Jan 1584
Alexander Murray (son to Lord Comptroller)	May 1580	Jun 1580
Mr William Murray (son to Lord Comptroller)	May 1580	Jun 1580
Walter Stewart, commendator of Blantyre	May 1580	1594
Sir James Sandilands	Feb 1591	
Robert Crichton, Lord Crichton of Sanquhar	1596	
Patrick Lindsay, Lord Lindores	1596	
Comptroller clerk		
John Fenton	1562	1616
Argenter / pursemaster / clerk of expenses		
Alexander Durham	May 1580	Oct 1583
Mr James Durham of Pittarrow / Duntarvie	Jun 1580	Aug 1600
David Selkirk	Nov 1593	Dec 1597
Depute George Whitehead	1594	1595
Clerk of household accounts		
Robert Porterfield	1578	1591
David Selkirk	1593	1603
Steward / household provider		
Mr Andrew Haig	Mar 1568	1572
Henry Balfour	1573	
George Danskin	1573	d.1579
John Chisholm	1582	1591
Master caterer / catour		
Walter Haig	May 1580	
John Wingate	1582	1595
James Nintene	1598	

Mediciner / doctor

Alexander Preston	Jul 1568	1580
Mr Gilbert Moncrieff	Sep 1575	1595
Mr Gilbert Skene	Jun 1581	1598
Dr Martin Schoner	Oct 1593	
Mr David Kinloch	Mar 1597	
Mr John Craig (principal mediciner)	Jan 1603	

Surgeon

John Chisholm	Sep 1573	1574
Gilbert Primrose	Nov 1576	1603
George Bothwell	1583	1602
John Naysmith	1588	1602
Andrew Scott	Dec 1592	

Apothecary

Alexander Barclay	Feb 1577	1602
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King's chamber:

Gentlemen, ordinary

George Douglas of Rungallie	Oct 1580	
Mr Mark Kerr of Prestongrange (1591, Lord Newbattle)	Oct 1580	
James Lindsay, master of Lindsay	Oct 1580	Jan 1592
Captain James Stewart of Bothwellmuir, earl of Arran	1580	1582
James Schaw, apparent of Sauchie (hereditary wine master)	1583	Apr 1602
Roger Aston (Englishman)	Jul 1581	Dec 1601
Lawrence, commendator of Glenluce	Nov 1588	
Mr Richard Cockburn	Nov 1588	May 1592
George Douglas, younger, of Parkhead	Aug 1589	
James Gray (son of 5 th Lord Gray)	Oct 1589	Aug 1591
Sir James Sandilands of Slamanno	1590	1596
Sir Andrew Kerr of Ferniehirst (1622, Lord Jedburgh)	Jan 1592	
Colonel William Stewart of Garntullie / Banchrie	Nov 1594	Jan 1603
Patrick Murray of Geanies	Dec 1594	Mar 1597
Thomas Erskine of Gogar	Dec 1594	Jul 1601
William Home	Jun 1595	1599
Robert Crichton, Lord Crichton of Sanquhar	1596	
Patrick Lindsay, Lord Lindores	Dec 1591	1596
Thomas Kirkpatrick of Closeburn	1596	
Sir David Melville	1596	
Thomas Kerr	1596	
Mr William Leslie	1596	
Laird of Segie	Dec 1591	1596
Mr Francis Bothwell (son of bishop of Orkney)	1596	
John Elphinstone	Apr 1596	1599
Andrew Stewart, Lord Ochiltree	1596	1598
Sir George Elphinstone of Blythiswood	1596	Aug 1599
John Ramsay (1606 V. Haddington, 1620 e. of Holderness)	Apr 1598	1599
Mr Alexander Lindsay (Lord Spynie)	Nov 1588	Feb 1589
Mr Alexander Hay of Forrestseat	1598	Apr 1600
Sir Hugh Herries	Jul 1601	

Gentlemen, extraordinary

William Cunningham of Caprington	Oct 1580	
James Drummond, commendator of Inchaffray	Oct 1580	

Valets	William Murray (noted as 1 st valet in 1594)	Mar 1568	1604
	John Stewart	Mar 1573	1592
	William Cunningham	1573	1578
	John Gibb	Mar 1576	Dec 1601
	William Keith	Aug 1579	1583
	James Balfour	1586	
	William Stewart	Jan 1589	1598
	Mr Jeremy Lindsay	Nov 1588	
	George Murray (brother of Sir David, master stabler)	Mar 1596	Mar 1603
	John Murray	Nov 1601	Mar 1603
	John Livingston	Apr 1603	
	John Auchmowtie	Mar 1603	
Ushers	Mr James Spottiswood	May 1590	Jun 1591
	Mr Alexander Lockhart	Jul 1595	Jul 1598
	James Cunningham	1599	
	James Maxwell	Jan 1603	Mar 1603
Master usher's servitor			
	James Cunningham	May 1598	
Usher depute			
	Alistair Gowie	1599	
Inner door usher			
	John Drummond of Slipperfield	1578	Aug 1598
	John Stewart of Rosland	1587	1596
	Alexander Young of Eastfield	Aug 1572	Apr 1600
Outer door usher			
	Robert Nesbitt	1574	1577
	David Lennox	1580	1593
	Andrew Moncrieff	May 1580	1591
	Robert Nesbitt	May 1580	1591
	Thomas French	Nov 1595	1603
	Thomas Barclay	Mar 1599	
Usher before king's meat			
	Eustacius Lambie	May 1580	
	Mr Robert Lambie	1582	1591
	Oliver Donaldson	1593	1603
Dwarf			
	William Gibson	1580	
Page of honour			
	Visines	1582	1585
	James Bruce	1585	1586
	William Stewart	1585	1586
	Archibald Beaton	1593	
	John Murray	1596	1599
	John Ramsay	1596	1599
	John Auchmowtie	Dec 1591	1599
	George Murray	Dec 1591	1599
	Robert Kerr (future earl of Somerset)	1598	Mar 1604

Page	Edward Sinclair	1576	
	Kentigern Murray	1579	
	Visines	1581	
	James Bruce	1582	
	Patrick Somerville	1582	Dec 1591
	David Stewart	1583	
	Malcolm McFarlane	1586	
	Umphra McFarlane	1586	
	Alexander Shaw	1586	
	William Stewart	1588	
	John Murray	1588	Mar 1599
	David Melville	1589	1590
	Archibald Beaton	1590	1594
	Richard Preston [of Haltree]	Feb 1591	1597
	Andrew Keith	Feb 1591	Dec 1591
	Harry Livingston	Feb 1591	1598
	William Hudson	1592	
Keeper / servant of the pages			
	Robert Erskine	Mar 1580	1596
Dichter / groom & fireman in the chamber			
	William Broccas	Mar 1568	1584
	John Murray	1578	Feb 1591
	John Harkness	1586	1598
	John Kers, elder	1586	1595
	John Kers, younger	Feb 1591	1597
Master balladine / dance teacher			
	William Hudson (English violer)	1575	1583
King's mistress nurse (pensioners)			
	Helen Little (m. Mr Thomas Livingston, brother of Abercorn)	Mar 1568	1601
	Grissel Gray (dau. of Helen Little)	Apr 1589	Dec 1594
King's rockers (pensioners)			
	Elizabeth Callendar, Lady Kippenros	Mar 1568	1572
	Katherine Murray	Mar 1568	1578
	Jane Oliphant	Mar 1568	1585
	Christiane Stewart	Mar 1568	1573
	Alison Sinclair (& keeper of king's cloths)	Mar 1568	Feb 1591
Governess to king's children (pensioner)			
	Margaret Stewart, mistress of Ochiltree	1589	1603
Captain of the household servants			
	Captain Richard Preston of Haltree	Dec 1594	Dec 1600
Wardrobe:			
Keeper of the wardrobe			
	William Beaton	Jul 1573	Jan 1589
Valet in the wardrobe			
	Alexander Young	Dec 1575	1582
	William Murray	Sep 1577	1580
	John Murdoch	May 1578	
	Alan Oliphant	1578	1590
	Bernard Lindsay	Feb 1591	1596
	James Chalmers	Mar 1596	Jan 1602
Aide in the wardrobe			
	Robert McQuhillie	1584	1590

Master tailor in the wardrobe		
Alexander Wilson	Jan 1592	1603
Tailor in the wardrobe		
John Murdoch	1579	Dec 1591
Master embroiderer		
William Beaton	1574	1598
King’s seamstress		
Grissel Gray	1573	May 1584
Bessie Murray	May 1584	
Grissel Hamilton	1585	Oct 1598
<i>Tapisier / keeper of the tapestries</i>		
William Beaton	1574	1581
George Strachan	1582	1604
Aide of the tapestry		
James Kinninmonth	1582	1584
Alexander Duncanson	1589	Dec 1591
Musicians:		
English violers		
James Hudson	1567	1593
Robert Hudson	1567	1595
Thomas Hudson	1567	1595
William Hudson	1567	1597
Thomas Hudson, elder	1572	
Robert Leslie	1596	
Servant to Hudsons		
William Fowlerton	1567	
Minstrel John Baxter	1575	1576
Lute player		
Walter Scott	1580	
Andrew Gray	1580	1581
Fiddler Walter Scott	1588	
Organist John Robson	1577	1578
Musicians		
John Home	1576	May 1580
James Lauder	May 1580	1598
William Treschiour	1583	
John Norlie (Englishman)	1601	1604
Poets		
Rob Stene / Robert Stevin	1580	1599
Fergal (Irishman)	1581	
King’s domestic servitors		
Niniane Stewart	1567	1580
John Monteith	Jan 1571	
Agnes Scott	1575	1579
Alexander Home of North Berwick (ambassador to England)	1580	1591
Walter Crawford	1580	
Francis Vanvinyeoun (Fleming)	1580	
George Abernethy	1581	
Alexander Stewart	1583	
Mr John Geddie	1585	Feb 1591
Mr Jerome Lindsay	Mar 1589	
Captain Alexander Montgomerie (poet)	Mar 1589	

King's domestic servitors, continued

James Philp	Feb 1591	
David Miller	Feb 1591	
John Kessane	Feb 1591	
Robert Waterson	Feb 1591	
David Nilsen	Feb 1591	
John Davidson	Feb 1591	
Alexander Leckie	Feb 1591	Feb 1600
William Bell	Mar 1592	1598
James Aitchison (goldsmith in Canongate)	1591	
Alexander Lovell	May 1592	
Samuel Somerville	Sep 1592	
Henry Wardlaw	1595	1599
Harry Murray	Dec 1596	1597
William Baxter	May 1597	Feb 1598
Mr David Foulis (brother of Thomas, goldsmith)	Feb 1598	

Master porter

John Boag	Jun 1578	Jan 1603
Patrick Crumby	Jun 1578	
Thomas Inglis of Auldliston	Aug 1579	
Aide to master porter		
William Cleghorn	1583	Feb 1591
James Boag	Oct 1588	Sep 1601
John Boag, younger	Aug 1591	1595
2nd aide to master porter		
William Cleghorn	1587	
James Boag	1588	1593
Master porter of the forward gate		
John Boag, elder	1593	1595
Master porter of the outer gate		
John Boag	1591	1599
Aide to the outer gate		
James Boag, younger	1591	1592
William Cleghorn	Feb 1591	
2nd aide to the outer gate		
John Boag	1592	

Marshal of the king's house

William Henderson	Mar 1589	1604
James Ogilvie	1592	1604

Ministers

John Duncanson	1568	1601
Mr John Craig	1579	1598
John Brand	1581	1598
Mr Patrick Galloway	1590	1604

Laundresses

King's	Margaret Douchall (Mrs Jerome Bowie)	Mar 1568	1604
Court	Agnes Bowie	1586	Dec 1591
	Robson	Feb 1591	

Wine cellar:		
Hereditary master		
Sir James Schaw of Sauchie	Mar 1568	Sep 1578
Master & sommelier		
Jerome Bowie (married to king's laundress)	Mar 1568	Oct 1597
James Bowie	Oct 1597	1603
Aide horseman (1st aide)		
James White	Jun 1578	1596
Robert Brown	1597	1603
Aide footman (2nd aide)		
Mr James Nicolson	1580	1582
Robert Brown	1582	1596
John Douchall	1596	1599
Thomas Hunter	1601	1603
Servitor John Glassinwright	1581	1598
Provider of Rhenish wines		
Captain John Ruthven	May 1597	
John Naysmith	Dec 1597	
 Ale cellar:		
Master George Boag	1567	1595
James Boag	1596	1603
John Boag	1602	1604
Aide horseman		
James Boag	May 1580	1595
John Boag, younger	May 1595	
John Boag	1596	1601
Robert Ross	1601	1604
Aide footman		
Thomas Bonkill	1582	1589
Robert Ross	1588	1599
Master brewer		
James Boag	Sep 1592	
William Craig	Sep 1592	1595
 Pantry and bread house:		
Master James Galbraith	Mar 1568	1586
Frances Galbraith	1588	1603
Aide horseman		
Frances Galbraith	Jul 1578	1584
Robert Galbraith	1585	1603
Aide footman		
George Galbraith	1581	1592
John Buchanan	Jan 1593	1603
Patrick McBeath	1596	
 King's kitchen:		
Master cook		
John Lyon	Mar 1568	1581
William Lamb	Nov 1582	1591
James Murray	Aug 1591	Feb 1593
Cristell Lamb	Jul 1591	1604

Foreman			
	James Murray	Mar 1568	Aug 1573
	Alexander Ferguson	1573	1576
	William Lamb	1577	1581
	Alexander Liddell	1582	Jul 1596
	James Lamb	1597	1603
Groom	Cristell Lamb	Mar 1568	1579
Porter	John Sloan	Mar 1568	1580
	Thomas Murray	May 1580	1591
	Alexander Allan	1582	1589
	John Stewart	1594	1599
Turnbroches			
	Alexander Blackie	1580	
	Rowy Maison	1580	
	William Stanford	1580	
	John Weir	1580	
Court kitchen:			
Master cook			
	James Murray	May 1580	1603
Foreman			
	Cristell Lamb	Feb 1581	1591
	Andrew Seton	Jun 1592	1603
	Gilbert Seton	1603	
Aide	Andrew Seton	1581	1591
	Andrew Blackie	1588	1589
	Gilbert Seton	1592	1602
	Robert Hamilton	Feb 1591	1596
	Archibald Seton	1594	1595
	Walter McGregor	1603	
Groom	Cristell Lamb	May 1580	
	John Stewart	May 1580	
Porter	Thomas Murray	1582	1584
	Alexander Allen	1582	1599
Vessel man			
	William Murray	1589	
Turnbroches - both kitchens			
	Andrew Blackie	1579	
	William Hempseed	1579	
	John Jameson	1579	
	Christopher Bennett	1597	1602
	Thomas Harvey	1597	1602
	Walter McGregor	1596	1602
	John Sorley	1596	1602
Baker			
	William Darroch	1569	
	John Hannah	1569	1573
	Thomas Cairns	1569	1573
	Archibald Ward	1579	
	John Clark	1579	1580
	Patrick Rannald	May 1580	1604
Aide	John Rannald	1582	1592
	Walter Stevenson	1591	
	James Liddell	Feb 1591	1603

Pastry chef		
	Patrick Rannald	Mar 1568 1580
	John Rannald	1589 1597
	William Rannald	1598
Great larder:		
Master	Walter Neish	Feb 1580 1604
Aide horseman		
	George Nelson	May 1580 1591
	Duncan Neish	1591 1596
	Thomas Burnett	May 1596 1603
Aide footman		
	Patrick Rutherford	1588 1591
	Thomas Scott	1592 1594
	David Murray	1595
	James Forbrand	1596 1603
Master flesher		
	Harry Burrell	Sep 1576 May 1578
	Thomas Robertson	Dec 1581
	John Robertson	Feb 1592 Mar 1603
Fisher	William Lyle	1598
Poultry man		
	Thomas Wingate	May 1580 1591
	David Hutchison	Jan 1589
Petite larder:		
Keeper		
	David Monteith	1582 1591
	Robert Monteith	Feb 1594 1604
Aide		
	John Carter	Feb 1591
	Thomas Forrester	Nov 1599
Spice house:		
Master		
	Mr Archibald Durham	May 1580 1595
	David Monteith	1588
	Andrew White	Feb 1591 1595
	Thomas Forrester	Nov 1599 1603
Aide		
	Andrew White	1582 1590
	James Tait	Feb 1591
	Thomas Forrester	1592 1593
Vessel houses:		
Keeper of the vessels		
	William Murray	Mar 1568 1603
	John Herries	Nov 1578
Keeper of the silver vessels		
	Alexander Carpentyne	Sep 1578
	Robert Robertson	1585 1604
Aide of the silver vessels		
	William Murray	May 1580 1597
	David Duthie	Oct 1597
Keeper of the pewter vessels		
	John Stobo	1579 1580
Aide of the pewter vessels		
	Alexander Morris	1596
Pewterer		
	Robert Weir	Sep 1600

Keeper of the tin vessels		
Alexander Morris	1582	1584
Robert Robertson	1587	1595
Alexander Morris	1597	1603
Aide of the tin vessels		
Alexander Morris	1582	1597
Adam Fowler	Feb 1591	1596
William Murray	1592	1595
 Coalman		
William Fairbairn	Mar 1568	1584
John Seton, younger (burgess of the Canongate)	Apr 1587	Nov 1600
James Seton	Mar 1600	
 Servants in the household hall:		
Servant to cupbearers, carvers, servers		
Robert Burn	1583	Jun 1595
Keeper of cold meat to cupbearers, carvers, servers		
Walter Main	1594	1603
Keeper of remains of king's meat		
Walter Main	May 1597	
Usher before the master household		
William Stobo	Feb 1591	Aug 1591
Master usher before master household's meat		
Robert Burn	1583	Jun 1595
David Graham	Jun 1595	
Master household's doorkeeper		
John Seton	Feb 1591	
Keeper of the hall door		
William Carmichael	1577	
Thomas Barclay	1596	
Thomas French	1596	
Groom in the household hall		
William Hunter	May 1580	1591
John Stobo	May 1580	1591
Cupbearer in the household hall		
James Boag, elder	1582	1595
Andrew Moir	1582	1597
Court barber / surgeon		
Henry Brog	Oct 1577	
William Brog	Oct 1578	1582
Daniel Gardner	1584	1596
Attendant on candles and chandeliers		
John Johnston	1577	
Lieutenant officer		
John Murray of Abercairny	May 1599	
Ensign officer		
William Irving	May 1599	
Officer		
David Graham	1596	1597
David Young	1601	1603
Gentleman / conservator		
Mr Robert Danielston	May 1589	
Servant James Baillie	1602	1603
Lecturer / reader		
Richard Wright	1578	
Mr Daniel Chalmers	1590	1596

Dichters / cleaners of closes, stairs and passages

John Ballon	May 1580	
John Ballon's wife	1582	1584
David Thomson (alias Burnebrayes)	1582	1597

Trumpeters

James Savoy	1567	1581
James Weddell	1567	1575
Nicoll Lyle	1568	1572
James Drummond	1568	Jan 1581
William Ramsay	1570	1603
Thomas Thomson	1572	
Robert Drummond	1578	1603
John Redford	1579	Jan 1581
Robert Maxwell	1580	1582
John McNab	1580	1582
Francis Savoy	1581	
John Baxter (English)	1591	1596
John Ramsay	1597	1603
Archibald Sim	1597	1603
Nicoll Weddell	1597	1603

Stables:

Esquire Mr William Erskine, commendator of Paisley	1578
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Gentlemen pensioners (to attend on king's riding and passing to fields)

Laird of Anslouch	May 1580	
Laird of Ardross	May 1580	
Roger Aston (Englishman)	May 1580	1581
Colin Campbell	May 1580	
Laird of Carmichael	May 1580	
Alan, master of Cathcart	May 1580	
Laird of Craigyhall	May 1580	
Captain Thomas Crawford of Jordanhill	May 1580	1581
Sir Robert Dalzell of Dalzell	May 1580	
Mr James Durham	May 1580	
Laird of Galbaird	May 1580	
James Gibb	May 1580	
Laird of Glasnow	May 1580	
Captain David Home	May 1580	
James Leverhulme	May 1580	
Captain Robert Montgomery	May 1580	1584
Patrick Murray [of Geanies]	May 1580	
Andrew Niauld	May 1580	
Patrick Hume of Polwarth	May 1580	
James Schaw of Sauchie	May 1580	
James Sirsell	May 1580	
Captain James Stewart [of Bothwellmuir]	1579	May 1580
John Stewart	May 1580	
Walter Stewart, commendator of Blantyre	May 1580	1592
William Stewart	May 1580	

King's pages in the stable

James Stewart	1596
John Livingston	1596
James Maxwell	1596
Harry Gibb	1596

Averyman		
John Oliphant	1569	1590
James Galbraith	1579	1591
Nicoll Moncrieff	1592	1605
Beir keeper		
James Finnick	1579	
Master saddler		
John Harlaw	Sep 1576	1578
Robert Abercrombie	May 1578	1598
Saddler Abraham Abercrombie	1596	1599
Master of the cariage (baggage)		
William Murray	Aug 1580	Jun 1602
Master furriour (quartermaster)		
Thomas Murray	1579	Sep 1589
Thomas Neish (king's lackey, 1597-8)	Sep 1589	
William Murray (m. Christian Lindsay, poet)	1594	1602
Master of the cariage & furriour depute		
Oliver Donaldson	pre-Sep 1589	
Sub-furriour		
Thomas Neish	1585	
Aide of the cariage		
John Johnston	1597	
Cariage-master in the fields		
Laurence Fenton	Sep 1578	
Sumpterman (pack-horse driver)		
John Kers	May 1580	1597
William Duthie (and keeper of the goats)	1596	
Comptroller of the stable		
James Livingston of Inchmauchan	Sep 1581	
Clerk of the stable		
James Bennett	1586	May 1593
Finlay Taylor	Jan 1594	1605
Lackey (footman), extraordinary		
Hew Mutter	1586	
Lackey		
Finlay Taylor	1579	1595
Charles Fortray	1579	1598
Andrew Kilbowie	1581	1597
Hew Mutter	1582	1585
Piggie	1583	1593
John Malloch	1586	1599
Thomas Neish	1596	1598
James Drummie	1597	
Robert Moncrieff	1597	
Archibald Cockburn	Apr 1599	
James Carmichael	Dec 1602	
Palfreniers		
George Kends	1581	1582
John Scott	1581	1582
Andrew Spittal	1581	1582
James Wright	1581	1582
John French	1581	1588
John Allan	1581	1597

Palfreniers, continued		
John Malloch	1582	1586
Robert Hangitschaw	1582	1589
William Bennett	1582	1597
John Ford	1596	1597
Andrew Kellop	1596	1597
Adam Oliver	1596	1597
John Wilson	1596	1597
Postmaster		
James Armour	Apr 1591	
John Finlayson	Jul 1597	Feb 1599
Alexander Simpson	May 1603	
Master wright / carpenter		
James Murray	Oct 1592	Mar 1601
James Murray, younger	Jul 1605	
Master smith		
Abraham Hamilton	Sep 1596	Jan 1603
Royal horseshoer		
James Leschewan (Smith)	Feb 1591	1595
Hors-marshal / horse-doctor		
Alan Balmanno	1582	Feb 1591
Thomas Trotter	May 1597	
Groom in the stable		
Hector Johnston	1577	
Arthur Thom	1577	
John French	1586	
Stable boy		
John Kidson	1581	
Keeper of king's horses		
Hugh French	1573	
Keeper of king's hackneys		
David Lychton	1583	
John Malloch	1581	1583
John Orock	1583	
Falkland, keeper of king's mares		
William Bennett (Frenchman)	1588	
King's Italian horse picker		
Julien Viscount	1580	
Couper (horse trader or cooper)		
William Todd	Jun 1578	
David Hamilton	Feb 1601	
Horse corn		
John Jardine	1575	
Hunting establishment:		
Stable master of the hunting horses		
Sir John Seton (son of 5 th Lord Seton)	May 1581	
John Carmichael younger of that ilk	1585	1586
Falkland, Englishman hunter		
Cuthbert Armour	1584	

Hunters	Lancelot Eiston (Englishman)	1580	1585
	Harry Cookson (Englishman)	1581	
	Nicoll Purhous (Englishman)	1582	
	Robert Walker (Englishman)	1586	1599
	John Andrew	1590	
	Anthony Cookson (Englishman)	1591	
	Cuthbert Rane (Englishman)	1591	
	John Aitchison	1594	1599
	James Cockburn	1597	1599
	Richard Banburgh	1599	
Master falconer	William Brisbane	1568	Jul 1580
	Alexander Moncrieff	Jul 1580	1601
Falconers	John Brown	1580	
	John Stewart	1580	
	John Clephane	1580	
	James Douchall	1580	1581
	John Ramsay	1581	1582
	Robert Hector	1583	
	Andrew Moncrieff	1583	1598
	Alexander McDougall	1584	1585
	George Moncrieff	1588	1596
	James Fisher	1598	
	James Quarrier	1598	
Keeper of the dogs	John Ramsay	1576	
	Malcolm McKendrick	1579	
	John Kers	1584	1593
Keeper of the hawks	John Ramsay	1576	1586
	Thomas Cargill	1596	
Coit / coat hawks	Peter Hay	1597	
Laverokman	John Wilson	1578	1581
Keeper of the buckhounds (Scottish Deerhounds)	Robert Walker (Englishman)	1588	1598
Keeper of the king's hounds	John Aitchison	Feb 1589	1597
Attendant on the hounds	John Aitchison	1583	1588
	James Cockburn	1592	1597
	John Dewar	1578	
	John Dougal	1583	
	Patrick Patton	1584	1590
	Robert Walker (Englishman)	1591	
Sporter	Alexander Leslie	1583	1587
	David Weir	1591	1598
Bowar	James Ferguson	1582	
	John Forrester	1582	
Spear maker	William Main	1582	
	George Dishington	1583	

King’s guard:

Principal	Robert Kerr, laird of Cessford (1616, earl of Roxburgh)	Dec 1593	
Lieutenant of the guard	John Forbes, master of Forbes	May 1577	
	William Home	1586	
	James Stewart of Schillinglaw	1583	
Gentleman	John Dempster	May 1604	
Ensign	Charles Geddes of Rachan	Nov 1581	
Commissary	William Murray (master of the baggage)	Oct 1582	Nov 1598
Cornet	James Cranston	Apr 1592	Aug 1592
Foot guard, lieutenant	James Hunter	1592	1593
Foot guard	James Balfour	Mar 1595	
Archer	Andrew Stewart	Mar 1582	
	Lancelot Easton (Englishman)	1587	
	Hew Somerville	Jun 1590	
Quartermaster	Andrew Haitlie	1585	
	Captain Patrick Cranston	1586	Jul 1591
	Mr Robert Purves	1593	
‘Of the guard’	Michael Stewart	Jun 1581	
	George Birkmyre	Feb 1582	
	John Menzies	1582	
	John Aderston	1582	
	Adam Menzies	1585	
	Nicoll Moncrieff	1585	
	Robert Brook	1585	
	Captain Robert Arnot	1586	Apr 1591

King’s artillery:

Master of the artillery	Alexander Jardine of Applegarth	1573	1583
Armourer	Mr John Stewart	May 1580	1591
	Henry Smith	May 1598	
Warlike accessories, master	Mr Homer Maxwell	Jul 1592	
Lorimer	Alexander Weylands	1569	1581
	James Weylands	1583	Jan 1591
	William Weylands	Mar 1592	May 1599
Master melter	David Rowan	1580	1592
	Benjamin Lambert (Frenchman)	Aug 1599	

Chapel Royal

Master	Thomas Hudson	1586	Oct 1594
	Mr James Gray	Aug 1597	
Lector	Mr William Chalmers	May 1602	
Ordiner	Patrick Dunbar	1602	
Treasurer			
	Robert Hudson	1587	1593
	William Hudson	Aug 1597	
Chaplain			
	Mr Daniel Chalmers	1589	
	Richard Wright	1589	
	Walter Carpenter	1592	

Gardens, Parks & Pets:

Keeper of the king’s catchpullis / tennis courts			
	John Kinloch	1581	Dec 1591
	Robert Shaw	Apr 1582	Dec 1591
Keeper of the catchpullis at Linlithgow			
	Robert Watson [alias Kells]	Nov 1590	
Falkland, gardener			
	George Strachan	1593	1603
Falkland, upholding park and ‘wod dykis’			
	Alexander Fairnie	1588	1593
	Robert Arnot of Kilquhais	1594	1595
Holyrood, gardeners of the north yard			
	William Brown	Sep 1569	1574
	Elizabeth Richardson	Sep 1569	1595
	Andrew Brown	Aug 1578	1603
	Thomas Alexander	1585	1591
Holyrood, gardener of the south yard (master gardener)			
	John Morrison	1567	1603
Holyrood, keeper of the palace garden (in the abbey) / zookeeper			
	Thomas Fenton	1586	1604
Linlithgow, gardener			
	Andrew Brown	Mar 1590	
Stirling, keeper of the park & garden			
	Robert Cunningham	1588	1595
Lion(s), keeper			
	John McCapyn	1584	
	William Falische (German)	1596	
Lion, lynx, tiger & gamecocks, keeper			
	Thomas Fenton	1588	

Periphery offices / royal warrants:

Bookbinder			
	John Gibson	1580	Jul 1599
Cabinet & trunk maker			
	Frances Berhagen (Fleming)	May 1589	
Master candle maker			
	Robert Nicolson	Jan 1595	Dec 1598
Clockmaker / knock maker			
	William Wight	1580	
Confectioner			
	Jacques de Bousie (Fleming)	Dec 1588	
Cordiner / Shoemaker			
	Henry White	1568	1595
	Alexander Crawford	1595	1599
Corselet maker			
	Josias Rikker	Mar 1595	

Cutler	James Young	1578	1579
	Henry Smith	1593	1595
Damasker, forviser, & sword slipper	William Vaus	Dec 1599	
Ferryman at Queensferry (pensioner)	James Lunn	1584	1588
King's furrier	Cuthbert Moir	Sep 1580	1592
Glassinwricht (glazier)	James Hunter	1580	1586
	Gilbert Morton / Masterton	1596	1599
Glover	James Ramsay	Sep 1572	1583
	John Bannatyne	1584	1597
Goldsmith	Mungo Brady	1571	1584
	Michael Gilbert	1580	1595
	Thomas Foulis	1581	1596
	George Heriot	1584	
	James Aitchison	Jul 1591	1595
	George Heriot, younger	1599	1604
Hat maker	John Abraham	Dec 1578	
	Henry Hepburn	1580	
	Andrew Paterson	1581	
	John Hepburn	1582	1592
	David Paterson	1583	1592
Painter	Arnold Bronckhurst (Fleming)	1580	1583
	Adrian Vanson (Fleming)	1581	1595
Painter of arms	Thomas Binning	1569	
	Walter Binning	1577	1579
	John Workman	Nov 1592	1598
	James Workman	1594	
Pasmentar	Charles Soyhieris (Fleming)	Dec 1588	
Papermakers	Peter Gryther	Dec 1590	
	Michael Kysar	Dec 1590	
Plumber	James Cowper	Dec 1579	1586
Printer	Robert Waldegrave	Oct 1590	1597
	Mr Robert Charters	Dec 1603	
Sklaiter, master (slate)	George Hay	1580	May 1594
Sponge maker in Perth	William Duncan	1582	1587
King's tailor	James Neish	1596	
	Alexander Miller	1596	Jan 1603
Tailors	James Inglis	1567	1599
	Alexander Miller	1587	1595
Wax man	James Casellals	1598	
Weaver	Andrew Lawson	1581	1588

Queen’s Household:

Master household

David Betoun of Melgund	Aug 1589	Feb 1591
William Vandervaus	1590	
Sir James Anstruther of that ilk	1593	1603
Henry Charteris of Kinfauns	1596	1599
Andrew Melville of Garvok	1589	1602
Patrick Hume of Polwarth	Apr 1601	

Chamberlain

David Seton of Parbroath	May 1590	
William Schaw (master of works)	1594	1595

Master of the stable

Sir John Livingston of Abercorn (1 st master stabler)	Sep 1589	1596
John Lindsay of Ballinscho	Oct 1591	
Sir Hugh Carmichael	1592	1596
Robert Stewart	1596	1598
Laird of Kirkenshew	1596	
Alexander Livingston of Pentasken	1597	

Gentleman servants

Server	Cunningham, laird of Robertland (principal server)	Aug 1590	1596
	George Epping / Vanepinghen (Danish man)	Feb 1591	
	Lord Sempill	Aug 1594 (baptism)	
Cupper	Kristoffer Carioth (Danish man)	May 1590	Feb 1591
	Alexander Home, Lord Home	Aug 1594 (baptism)	
Carver	George Epping / Vanepinghen	May 1590	Aug 1591
	Lord Seton	Aug 1594 (baptism)	
	James Lundie	Nov 1595	1596
Gentleman servants - no specification			
	Robert Stewart	1596	
	Archibald Erskine (brother of Sir Thomas of Gogar)	1596	

Gentlemen of the chamber

Patrick Hume of Polwarth (younger)	Aug 1590	Dec 1591
Sir James Melville of Halhill	1591	1597
Mungo Murray	Mar 1595	Feb 1603
Robert Anderson	1596	
John Elphinstone	Feb 1597	

Ladies and gentlewomen of the chamber

Elspeth Gibb, wife of Peter Young	1590	1592
Mistress Jean Drummond (m. Lord Roxburgh)	1590	Sep 1601
Katherine Skinkell (Danish)	Aug 1590	
Sofie Koss (Danish)	Feb 1591	
Margaret Stewart, Lady Ochiltree (& 3 servants)	Feb 1591	1596
Sir George Home’s wife, Elizabeth Gordon	Feb 1591	
Martha Stewart	Feb 1591	
Janet Stewart, daughter of Lady Ochiltree (& 1 servant)	Feb 1591	1596
Marie Stewart (Ludovick’s sister)	Feb 1591	1592

Ladies of the chamber, continued		
Margaret Wester, Lady Logie	1591	
Lady Lindores (& 2 servants)	1596	
Mistress Beatrice Ruthven (& 3 servants)	1596	
Roger Aston’s wife, Marjorie Stewart (& 1 servant)	1596	
Mistress Margaret Stewart (& 1 servant)	1596	
Mary Carmichael, Lady Holyroodhouse (& 1 servant)	1596	
Anna Kerr (& 1 servant)	1596	
Elisabeth Shaw (& 1 servant)	1596	
Christine Ruthven (& 1 servant)	1596	
Laird of Kirkinshew’s daughter (& 1 servant)	1596	
Queen’s maiden		
Anna Myrteris (Danish)	1592	1594
Secretary		
Johannes Calixtus Skien (Danish)	Aug 1590	1593
Mr William Fowler (poet)	1596	1604
Depute Mr William Fowler	1589	
Minister		
Johannes Særingus (Danish)	Feb 1591	1603
Queen’s chamber:		
Servitors in the chamber		
James Anstruther of that ilk	Mar 1592	
Marie Young (daughter of Mr Peter Young, almoner)	1591	
Mr John Geddie	1592	
Dame Annabelle Murray, dowager countess of Mar	1594	
William Bell	1595	1598
Henry Wardlaw	1595	1599
Robert Anderson	1596	
Captain Arnot	1596	
George Whitehead	1596	
Margaret Hairtsyde	1601	1602
Gavin Home	1603	
Inner chamber, usher		
Mr David Morton	Oct 1589	1597
James Cunningham	1597	1603
Outer chamber, usher		
Mr David Morton	Feb 1591	1592
Alexander Kerr	1596	
Alistair Gowie	1597	1603
Presence chamber, doorkeeper		
Alistair Gowie	Nov 1594	
Usher before queen’s meat		
William Baxter	Nov 1589	1596
Chamber usher & bigger on of fires		
Martine Laurens	1591	
James Ogilvie	1591	
John Tindern	1591	
Mr David Morton	1593	

Pages of honour			
	James Murray	Aug 1590	
	Cayns	1591	
	James Douglas	1596	
	Archibald Murray	1596	
Pages	James Murray	1591	
	James Douglas	1593	
	Archibald Murray	1593	
Lackey	Hans Feier (Danish)	1591	1595
	James Drummond	1591	1597
	Robert Moncrieff	1591	1597
	Arthur Glen	Jun 1594	1597
	Richard Baxter	1596	1597
Lackey to queen's gentlewomen			
	James Glen	1591	1599
Servant to queen's maidens & server at table of queen's Danes			
	William Bell	1596	1603
Master household's table servant			
	David Strachan	1596	
Master porter			
	James Boag	Sep 1589	
Wardrobe:			
Master of the wardrobe			
	Søren Jonsen (Danish)	1592	1597
Master tailor			
	Peter Sanderson	1594	1596
Attire maker			
	James Taylor	May 1603	
Tailor	Pål Rei (Danish)	1590	1591
	Peter Rannald	1592	1594
	David Dewar	1594	
	William Simson	1594	
Master embroiderer			
	William Beaton	Sep 1589	1598
Furrier	Henrie Koss (Danish)	1591	Dec 1593
Master glover			
	John Bannatyne	Aug 1589	1597
Goldsmith			
	Thomas Foulis	1590	
	George Heriot, younger	Jul 1597	
Seamstress			
	Grissel Hamilton	Oct 1589	Oct 1591
Tapisier			
	William Beaton	Sep 1589	1598
	George Strachan	Sep 1598	
	Thomas Strachan	1603	
Comptroller			
	David Betoun of Melgund	Aug 1589	
Treasurer depute			
	James Thorbrand	1596	

Clerk of the household accounts		
James Tait	1592	1603
David Selkirk	1597	
Almoner		
Mr Steven Wilson, parson of Moffat	Dec 1590	
Household provider / caterer		
James Martin	Sep 1598	
Mediciner / doctor		
Dr Martin Schoner	Jul 1597	1599
Surgeon		
John Naysmith	1588	1602
Apothecary		
Archibald Mudie	Oct 1589	
Alexander Barclay	Oct 1590	1599
Advocate		
Mr David McGill of Cranston Riddell	Feb 1591	
Cellar		
James Boag	1594	
Rhenish wines, provider		
Captain John Ruthven	May 1597	
John Naysmith	Dec 1597	
Pantry ('naiprie')		
Francis Galbraith	May 1599	
Kitchen:		
Master cook		
Hans Drier (Danish)	Aug 1590	1591
Hans Popillman (Danish)	Feb 1591	1596
Joannes Forgius (Danish)	1597	
William Murkie	1597	Sep 1602
1st aide Robert McAlpine	Aug 1599	
Servant Alexander Simson	1591	
Master flesher		
John Robertson	Sep 1598	Mar 1603
Wax man		
James Castlelaw	Aug 1599	
Vessel houses:		
Keeper of the silver vessels		
Robert Arnot	Sep 1598	
William Baxter	1599	
Coalman		
John Seton	Sep 1598	
Ordinary officers in queen's house		
John Buchanan	Sep 1598	
John Douchall	Sep 1598	
Robert Ross	Sep 1598	
James Tait	Sep 1598	

Stables:		
Stable clerk		
James Bennett	1589	1593
Finlay Taylor	Jan 1594	1605
Master saddler		
Robert Abercrombie	Oct 1591	1594
Master of the cariage & master furriour (quartermaster)		
Oliver Donaldson	Oct 1589	
Master of the queen's carriage		
Alexander Fenton	1603	
Falkland, queen's great horse, keeper		
Nils Nilsen	1593	1596
Hans Persen	1590	1595
Palfreniers		
Arthur Oliphant	Jul 1590	1597
John Brown	1596	1597
William Cumming	1596	1597
Nils Nilsen	1597	
Trumpeter		
Andrew Finney	Apr 1603	
Master wright		
Harry Murray (son of James Murray, king's wright)	Aug 1591	

Children's Establishments:		
Prince Henry Frederick (b. 19 February 1594)		
Master household		
Thomas Duddingston	1594	
Chamberlain & collector		
Mr William Keith	Oct 1594	
Master of the wardrobe		
Patrick, master of Gray	Aug 1595	
Sir Patrick Murray of Geanies	1597	1601
David Murray	1603	
Pedagogue & style master		
Mr Adam Newton	1601	
Master almoner		
Sir William Laing	1594	
Steward Mr Alan Lawmond		
	1594	
1st valet in the chamber		
James Murray (son of king's 1 st valet in chamber)	Apr 1594	
Valet in the chamber		
William Murray	1594	1599
Alexander Wilson	Jun 1597	May 1601
Harry Murray	May 1599	
John Murray	Jul 1599	
Usher & keeper of the chamber		
Walter Alexander	1599	
Usher David Lennox		
	1596	
Marshal		
James Ogilvie	1594	

Dames of honour		
	Dame Annabelle Murray, dowager countess of Mar	1594
	Marie Stewart, countess of Mar	1594
	Agnes Leslie, countess of Morton	1594
	Magdalene Livingston, Lady Scrimgeour of Dudhope	1594
	Lady Clackmannan	1594
	Elizabeth Shaw, Lady Abercairny	1594
	Eleanor Hay, Lady Cambuskenneth	1594
	Margaret Livingston, Lady Bellenden of Broughton	1594
Mistress nurse		
	Elizabeth Auchmowtie	Jun 1596
Nurse	Margaret Masterton	Jan 1605
Rockers		
	Margaret Kinross	1594
	Jonet Bruce	1594
	Margaret Cunningham	1594
	Helen Stewart	1594
Keeper of prince's coffer and cloths		
	Barbara Murray	1594
Seamstress		
	Elizabeth Abercrombie	1593 1594
Laundress		
	Elizabeth Moncrieff	Jan 1594 1596
Servants to Lady Jane Drummond (governess)		
	Thomas Stroupe	1594
	Christiane Baxter	1594
Servitors		
	Abigail Smith	1595
	Mrs John Brand	1598
	Hugh Campbell of Loudon	Jul 1599
	Alexander Cunningham of Crosshill	Dec 1599
	Mr Walter Quin	Feb 1603
Special procurator		
	Mr Patrick Murray	Aug 1594 1595
Tailor, master		
	Alexander Wilson	Mar 1594 May 1601
Tailor	David Paterson	1598
Embroiderer		
	Alexander Miller	May 1594
	William Beaton	Nov 1595 1598
Damasker, forviser & sword slipper		
	William Vaus	1599
Mediciner, principal		
	Mr John Craig	Jan 1603
Master cook		
	Mont	1594
Kitchen, foreman		
	Alexander Orkney	1594
Pastry chef		
	Patrick Marshall	1594
Master flesher		
	John Robertson	Mar 1603
Larder, keeper		
	George Home	Nov 1594
Pantry	James McKeston	1594
Cup house		
	John Douchall	1594

Spice house, master			
Harry Murray	Jun 1594		
Spices & sweetmeats			
John Duncan	Sep 1600		
Ale cellar			
Patrick Henderson	1594		
Wine cellar, master			
James Bowie (son of king's master of wine cellar)	Feb 1594		
Porter William Cumming	1594		
Silver vessels and coal, keeper			
William Methven	1594		
Wax furnisher			
Adam Colquhoun	Nov 1600		
Hunter, master			
Thomas Pott	1598	Jan 1603	
Palfrenier			
James Flescher	Jul 1602		

Lady Elizabeth, First Daughter of Scotland (b. 19 August 1596)

Mistress nurse			
Alison Hay (Lady Dunteren?)	1596	Jul 1601	
Wet-nurse			
Bessie McDowall	Feb 1597		
Elizabeth Auchmowtie	1596		
Chamber door			
John Fairnie	1597		
Tailor Peter Sanderson	1597	1599	
Keeper of coffers			
Elizabeth Hay	1596	Jul 1601	

Lady Margaret, Second Daughter of Scotland (b. 24 December 1598 - d. August 1600)

Mistress nurse			
Helen Crichton	Mar 1601		
Rocker Marion Hepburn	Jul 1599		
Christiane Scrimgeour	Jul 1599		
Tailor Peter Sanderson	Dec 1599		
Laundress			
Marion Boag	1599		
Sugar candies			
Thomas Burnett	1599		

Charles, duke of Albany (b. 19 November 1600)

Governess			
Mistress Jean Drummond	Feb 1602	Dec 1602	
Mistress nurse			
Margaret Stewart	Nov 1600	Dec 1601	
Mistress rocker			
Marion Hepburn	Feb 1601	1603	
Wet-nurse			
Elizabeth Auchmowtie	Nov 1600		
Valet John Murray	Feb 1601		

Robert Bruce, marquis of Wigtown (b. 18 January- d. 27 May 1602)

Mistress nurse			
Issobell Colt	Apr 1602	May 160	

Scottish Officers of State:

Chancellor

James Douglas, earl of Morton	Nov 1567	Nov 1572
Archibald Campbell, earl of Argyll	Jan 1573	Sep 1573
John Lyon, Lord Glamis	Oct 1573	Mar 1578
John Stewart, earl of Athol	Mar 1578	Apr 1579
Colin Campbell, earl of Argyll	Aug 1579	Sep 1584
James Stewart, earl of Arran	May 1584	Dec 1585
Sir John Maitland of Thirlestane, Lord Thirlestane	Jul 1587	Oct 1595
John Graham, earl of Montrose	Apr 1599	Dec 1604
Alexander Seton, lord Fyvie (1605, earl of Dunfermline)	Dec 1604	Jun 1622

Vice-chancellor

John Maitland of Thirlestane	May 1586	Jul 1587
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Secretary

William Maitland of Lethington	Dec 1558	May 1571
Robert Pitcairn, commendator of Dunfermline	Aug 1571	Aug 1583
Sir John Maitland of Thirlestane	May 1584	Apr 1591
Sir Richard Cockburn of Clerkington (nephew of Thirlestane)	Apr 1591	May 1596
Mr John Lindsay, Lord Menmuir	May 1596	Jan 1598
Sir James Elphinstone of Barnton	Jan 1598	Apr 1609

Secretary depute

Mr George Young	1580	1597
David Moysie	1594	

Treasurer

Mr Robert Richardson	Jun 1566	Jun 1571
William Ruthven, Lord Ruthven	Jun 1571	May 1584
John Graham, earl of Montrose	May 1584	Dec 1585
Sir Thomas Lyon of Baldukie / Auldbar, master of Glamis	Dec 1585	Mar 1596
Walter Stewart, commendator of Blantyre	Mar 1596	Apr 1599
John Kennedy, earl of Cassillis	Mar 1599	Apr 1599
Alexander Elphinstone, master of Elphinstone	Apr 1599	Sep 1601
Sir George Home of Spot (1605, earl of Dunbar)	Oct 1601	Jan 1611

Treasurer depute

Sir Robert Melville of Murdocairnie (bros. Garvock, Halhill)	1581	1598
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Comptroller

Sir William Murray of Tullibardine	Jul 1567	Nov 1582
John Fenton (comptroller clerk)	Nov 1582	Aug 1583
Sir James Campbell of Ardkinglas	Aug 1583	Jul 1585
Andrew Wood of Largo	Jul 1585	Jul 1587
Sir John Seton of Barns	Jul 1587	Nov 1588
David Seton of Parbroath	Nov 1588	Jan 1596
James Elphinstone of Invernochty	Jan 1596	Jan 1597
Walter Stewart, commendator of Blantyre	Jan 1597	Dec 1597
Sir George Home of Wedderburn	Dec 1597	Apr 1599
Sir David Murray of Gospertie	Apr 1599	Feb 1608

Comptroller depute

Mr James Durham of Duntarvie	1588	
Robert Arnot	1601	1602

Comptroller, substitute

John Murray, apparent of Tullibardine	1580	
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Collector general

Robert, Lord Boyd of Kilmarnock	Mar 1576	
Mr Adam Erskine, commendator of Cambuskenneth	Jul 1578	
Mr Robert Douglas, provost of Lincluden	Dec 1590	Apr 1594
Mr John Preston of Fenton Barns	Dec 1598	Jan 1602

Master of requests

Mr John Hay, commendator of Balmerino	Aug 1567	
Mr Mark Kerr (of Prestongrange)	Mar 1578	
Mr John Colville	Jul 1578	1579
Mr Mark Kerr, Lord Newbattle (1606, earl of Lothian)	1581	1590

Master of requests, substitute

Mr Robert Young	Sep 1599	
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King's advocate

Mr John Spens of Condie	Oct 1555	1573
Mr Robert Crichton of Eliock	May 1574	1582
Mr David Borthwick of Lochhill	Oct 1573	Jan 1581
Mr David McGill of Cranston Riddell	Jun 1582	Feb 1596
Sir John Skene of Curriehill (clerk register)	Aug 1589	Sep 1594
Mr William Hart of Livielands	Oct 1594	1597
Sir Thomas Hamilton of Drumcairnie	Feb 1596	May 1612

Solicitor in their graces causes

Mr Alexander McGill	Feb 1591	
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Clerk register

Mr James McGill of Rankeillor Nether	Dec 1567	Oct 1579
Alexander Hay of Easter Kennet	Oct 1579	Sep 1594
Mr John Skene	Sep 1594	Apr 1612

Justice clerk

Sir John Bellenden of Auchnoull	Feb 1568	
Sir Lewis Bellenden of Auchnoull	Mar 1577	Nov 1591
Sir John Cockburn of Ormiston	Aug 1591	
Sir Thomas Cockburn of Ormiston	1591	Oct 1599

Lord Privy Seal

John Maitland, commendator of Coldingham	Aug 1567	
Mr George Buchanan	May 1577	Sep 1582
Walter Stewart, commendator of Blantyre	Jan 1583	Mar 1596
John Lindsay, Lord Menmuir	Mar 1596	
Sir Richard Cockburn of Clerkington	May 1596	Jul 1601

Master macer

James Scrimgeour of the Myres	1588	1595
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King's macer

James Chalmers	Nov 1591	1603
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Macer, ordinary

John Ferguson	Aug 1578	1593
Robert Stewart	1588	1603
Alexander Douglas	Aug 1599	

Heralds & Pursuivants

Lyon King of Arms

Sir William Stewart of Luthrie	Feb 1568	Aug 1568
Sir David Lindsay of Rathillet	Sep 1568	Jun 1591
Sir David Lindsay of the Mount, <i>secundus</i>	Dec 1591	1620

Albany Herald

Alexander Oliphant	1565	1604
Thomas Oliphant	Aug 1604	

Islay Herald

Peter Thomson	1566	1572
James Purdy of Kinaldies	Nov 1572	1588
Patrick Bannatyne	Aug 1588	1590
Sir David Lindsay of the Mount, <i>secundus</i>	1590	1591
John Blinsele	1596	1612

Marchmond Herald

Adam McCulloch	Aug 1561	Aug 1571
Gilbert Guthrie	Jan 1573	1602
Gilbert Guthrie, younger	1602	

Orkney Herald Extraordinary

Adam McCulloch	May 1581	1585
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Ross Herald

Patrick Davidson	1567	1590
John Purdy (killed by Ormonde Pursuivant)	Aug 1592	Nov 1595
Andrew Littlejohn	1596	1599
Adam Mathieson	1599	1600
Thomas Williamson of Mylnehall	1600	1622

Rothsay Herald

John Foreman	1568	1571
Florens Douglas	Feb 1575	1581
John Foreman (reinstated)	1581	1594
James Borthwick	1597	1605

Snowdon Herald

John Paterson	1566	1571
Alexander Guthrie	1571	
Thomas Lindsay	1571	1605

Pursuivant Extraordinary

Robert Campbell	Apr 1569	1582
John Brown	Apr 1569	Jun 1581

Bute Pursuivant

John Calder	Sep 1561	Mar 1590
John Blinsele	Mar 1590	1596
William Mackiesoun	1598	1610

Carrick Pursuivant

Alexander Forrester	1565	1572
Robert Campbell	1582	1615

Dingwall Pursuivant

William Henderson	1557	1582
John Purdy	1590	1592
Daniel Graham	1592	1601
John Yellowlees	1602	

Kintyre Pursuivant

James Purdy of Kinaldy	1569	1572
William Rankeillour	1589	1616

Linlithgow Pursuivant		
Gilbert Guthrie	1572	Jan 1573
Ormond Pursuivant		
Alexander McCulloch	1569	May 1572
John Gledstanes of Quothquhan (beheaded for killing Purdy)	Mar 1577	1595
David Gardner	1600	1620
Unicorn Pursuivant		
Alexander McCulloch	1567	1568
Patrick Ramsay	Apr 1569	1579
Robert Fraser	1585	1594
Daniel Graham	1596	
John Ramsay	1596	1599

Sources:

Scottish Record Office [National Archives of Scotland]:

E.21/61-76, E.22/6 (Treasurer's Accounts, 1580-1604)

E.24/22-26 (Comptroller's Accounts, 1600-1605)

E.34/35, 41, 42, 47, 48, 49/5 (Household Papers & Accounts)

GD.90/2/8, 22 (Yule Collection)

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PS.1/50-74 (Old Series Privy Seal, Nov 1583-May 1603)

Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland, T. Dickson and Sir J. Balfour Paul (eds.) (Edinburgh, 1877-1916)

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Registrum Secreti Sigilli Regum Scotorum, M. Livingstone *et al.* (eds.) (Edinburgh, 1908-)

Papers Relative to the Marriage of King James the Sixth of Scotland (Bann. Club, No.26 Edinburgh, 1828)

Handbook of British Chronology, E.B. Fryde *et al.* (eds.), 3rd ed. (London, 1986)

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(Thanks to Traci Juhala for her assistance with Danish names)

Appendix 2 – Bills of Household

Household, March 1568²

governess	mistress nurse, her daughter, 2 servants
5 rockers	2 keepers of the king's cloths
master household and a servant	steward and a servant
chamber - 3 servitors	4 violers and their servant
minister	laundress
kitchen - master cook, foreman, keeper of the vessels, aide, porter	
baker / pastry chef	pantry man
coalman	wine cellar keeper
ale cellar – brewster / cellar man and his brother	

Household, May 1580³

4 master households	clerk of expenses
writer of accounts	steward / caterer
king's chamber - 4 gentleman,	2 servers, 2 cupbearers, 2 carvers
4 valets	usher before king's meat
4 ushers (2 inner door, 2 outer door)	2 grooms
4 English violers	
wardrobe - master & valet	tailor
seamstress	2 laundresses - king's, court
embroiderer / <i>tapisier</i> (tapestry keeper)	
surgeon & doctor	master porter
2 preceptors	2 ministers
household hall - 2 grooms, 2 cupbearers	silver vessels - master, groom
king's kitchen - master cook, foreman, porter, 2 turnbroches	
court kitchen - master cook, foreman, porter, 2 turnbroches	
baker / pastry chef	pantry - master, groom, aide
larder - master, groom	spice house - master, groom
poultry man	coal man
averyman	wine cellar - master, groom, aide
ale cellar - master, groom, aide	2 dichters of the closes, passages

² NAS, Mar & Kellie Muniments, GD.124/10/25.

³ NAS, Household Accounts, E.34/35.

Household, May 1580, continued

stable - 4 master stablers	4 keepers of horses in stables
4 lackeys (footmen)	armourer
furriour	sumpterman
saddler	

25 gentlemen pensioners to attend king at all times of his riding and passing to the fields

Gentlemen of the Bedchamber, 15 October 1580⁴

Lord High Chamberlain: Esmé Stewart, sieur d'Aubigné, earl of Lennox

Chamberlain's Deputy: Alexander Erskine of Gogar, master of Mar

Ordinary Gentlemen:

George Keith, master of Marischal (succeeded to earldom 1581)
Patrick Leslie, commendator of Lindores (brother of master of Rothies)
Hugh Kennedy, master of Cassillis (brother of earl)
James Lindsay, master of Lindsay (of the Byres)
Alexander Livingston, master of Livingston
Alexander Elphinstone, master of Elphinstone
William Maxwell, master of Herries (of Terregles)
James Ogilvie, master of Ogilvie
Sir James Home, laird of Cowdenknowes
Thomas Kennedy, laird of Bargany
Laird of Bombie
Sir William Livingston, laird of Kilsyth
John Turnbull, laird of Minto
Laird of Ballindane
Patrick Crichton, laird of Strathurd
Sir William Moncrieff, laird of Moncrieff
Mr Mark Kerr of Prestongrange (son of commendator of Newbattle)
George Douglas of Rungally (brother to William Douglas of Lochleven)
Captain James Stewart (of Ochiltree / Bothwellmuir)
Alexander Ruthven (brother to William, Lord Ruthven)
James Drummond, commendator of Inchaffray
Sir Alexander Home of Snuke, commendator of Coldingham
Alexander Home of North Berwick (brother of Home of Polwarth)
James Chisholm

Extraordinary Gentlemen:

John, 8th Lord Maxwell (occasional warden of west marches)
Sir Walter Kerr, laird of Cessford
Laird of Ardkinglas
William Cunningham, laird of Caprington
Alexander Home of Manderston
William Stewart of Caverston (captain of Dumbarton Castle)

⁴ *RPC*, iii, 322-3.

Household, November 1582⁵

2 master households	clerk of expenses
writer of accounts	steward / caterer
king's chamber- 4 gentleman 'in the chamber'	
24 ordinary gentlemen of the chamber	6 extraordinary gentlemen
2 servers, 2 cupbearers, 2 carvers	4 valets
4 ushers (2 inner door, 2 outer door)	usher before king's meat
6 pages & their servant	2 grooms / dichters / makers of fires
wardrobe - master, 2 valets, tailor	king's tailor
embroiderer / tapestry keeper & aide	surgeon & doctor
4 English violers	musician
2 preceptors	2 ministers
seamstress	laundresses - king's, court
master porter & 3 aides (and guard on outermost door)	
household hall - 2 grooms, 2 cupbearers	silver vessels - keeper & aide
tin vessels - keeper & aide	2 dichters of the closes, passages
king's kitchen - master cook, foreman, porter, 2 turnbroches	
court kitchen - master cook, foreman, porter, 2 turnbroches	
baker / pastry chef & aide	pantry - master, groom, aide
spice house - master, groom	great larder - keeper & aide
petite larder – keeper	poultry man
coal man	averyman
wine cellar - master, groom, aide	ale cellar - master, groom, aide
stable - 2 master stablers	4 keepers of horses in stables
4 lackeys	10 palfreniers (grooms)
armourer	furriour
sumpterman	saddler
Included in household bill:	
master of requests	treasurer clerk
comptroller clerk	clerk of council
secretary depute	macer of council

⁵ NAS, Household Accounts, E.34/36.

Household, February 1591⁶

King's Household:

2 master households⁷ (with a servant and page)

king's privy chamber⁸ - chamberlain (& page), vice-chamberlain, 1 gentleman

master of the wardrobe

2 master stablers⁹

king's gentleman servants - 2 servers, 2 cupbearers, 2 carvers

master almoner

mediciner

master of works

master hunter

gentleman of the chamber (Roger Aston)

comptroller clerk

clerk of the expenses

king's chamber- 4 valets

2 dichters of king's chamber, biggers-on of fires therein

2 ushers of the king's inner chamber servitor (Mr John Geddie)

2 pages of honour captain of household servants

6 pages (with their Master and Reader in the king's house and their servant)

wardrobe - valet and tailor

surgeon

wine cellar - master, aide horseman, 2 aide footmen

pantry - master, aide horseman, 2 aide footmen

ale cellar - master, aide horseman, 2 aide footmen

king's kitchen - master cook, foreman, porter

court kitchen - master cook, 2 foremen, 2 aides, porter

4 turnbroches in the two kitchens

writer of the accounts & aide

baker & aide

pastry chef

great larder - master, aide horseman

spice house - master, aide

petite larder - keeper, aide (also keeper of the lantern)

silver and tin vessels - keeper, 1 aide for silver vessels, 2 aides for tin vessels

tapestries - keeper, aide

usher before king's meat

coalman (also keeper of master household's door)

usher of outer chamber

4 English violers & their servant

master porter, deputy & aide

marshal of the house

usher before master household

3 ministers

musician

seamstress

laundresses - king's & court

keeper of gentleman servants meat

poet

The Bellman of the Canongate

2 dichters /cleaners of the closes

2 trumpeters

⁶ NAS, Household Accounts, E.34/41; *Papers*, Appendix III.

⁷ The king's bill of household of December 1591 notes 3 master household. NAS, Household Accounts, E.34/42.

⁸ The December 1591 household includes a notation of 'ordinar' payment to the great chamberlain, vice-chamberlain, master of the wardrobe and four gentlemen of the chamber. E.34/42.

⁹ Four master stablers are noted in E.34/42, although two have been the norm since 1582.

Queen’s Household:

8 ladies and gentlewomen -

Katherine Skinkell
Margaret Stewart, Lady Ochitree
Elspeth Gibb
Martha Stewart

Sofie Koss
Sir George Home’s wife
Marie Stewart
Janet Stewart

1 master household (with servant & page)

1 master stabler
1 sewer / server
1 carver (Danish) & 2 servants

1 gentleman in the Queen’s chamber
1 cupbearer (Danish) & 2 servants
preacher & 3 boys / servants

secretary
furrier
usher of the Queen’s chamber
4 servant women and lasses in the queen’s chamber, of which 2 are laundresses
serving man, serving woman and page to Mistress Ochiltree
serving woman to Sir George Home’s wife laundress to them

tailor, his servant & 2 boys
goldsmith
usher before the Queen’s meat

4 lackeys
clerk of expenses of Queen’s house
3 turnbroches in the kitchen

2 fireman (‘that biggis on fyris’)
master cook, his servant & 3 boys
porter

Stable, both king and queen:

averyman
master of the cariage (baggage)
smith
4 lackeys to king
3 palfreniers/keepers of Queen’s hackneys

saddler
clerk of the stable
marshal
8 palfreniers (1 who keeps the camel)
2 keepers of the queen’s coach horses

Other household members not included in bills but receiving payment at that time¹⁰:

cordiner (shoemaker)
hat maker
jeweller
apothecary
flesher
members of king’s guard
maker of playing cards
hors-marshal
keeper of palace garden in Holyrood (includes lion, tiger, lynx and gamecocks)

painter
goldsmith
glover
bookbinder
catchepuller
master falconer
maker of sugar confections
gardeners - Falkland, Holyrood, Stirling

¹⁰ see Appendix 1.

Household, 1596¹¹

King's Household:

2 masters household (with a servant and page)

2 gentlemen in the chamber

master of the wardrobe

captain of the guard

3 master stablers

king's chamber - 13 additional gentlemen in the chamber

2 sewers / servers , 2 cupbearers / coppers, 2 carvers

3 valets

1 valet in the wardrobe

3 pages, their lecturer & their keeper

4 ushers

usher before the king's meat

keeper of the gentlemen's meat

master almoner & a depute

master of works

clerk of expenses & page

marshal of the king's house

2 keepers of the king's hall door

officer of the house

3 falconers

4 pages in the stables

ale cellar - master, 3 aides

king's kitchen - master, foreman, turnbroche, porter

court kitchen - master, foreman, aide, turnbroche, porter

2 pastry chefs (pastry chef & aide)

larder - master, aide horseman

vessel house - keeper of tin, keeper of silver

pantry - master, aide horseman, 2 aide footmen

wine cellar - master, aide horseman, 2 aide footmen

To receive bread and drink only:

king's kitchen - 2 turnbroches

court kitchen - 4 turnbroches

household hall - cupbearer

king's chamber - fireman/groom

court barber

sumpterman and keeper of the goats

household hall - dichter/groom

porter at the mater household's hall door

vessel house - aide

court kitchen - aide

¹¹ NAS, Household Accounts, E.34/47 - due to its shortened nature, this would appear to be an Octavian-inspired household list.

Household members receiving payment c.1596 but not included on list¹²:

great chamberlain	vice-chamberlain
poet	musician
master usher before m. household's meat	baker & aide
master caterer	confectioner
master flesher	great larder- aide footman
petite larder- keeper & aide	spice house-master & aide
4 ministers	household hall- cupbearer
captain of household servants	macer
postman	porter- master & aide
master porter & aide of outer gate	coalman
master tailor & aide	master tailor in the wardrobe
cordiner	corselet maker
master embroiderer	glover
goldsmith	2 laundresses - king's & court
seamstress	mediciner
3 surgeons	painter of arms
printer	apothecary
bookbinder	master candle maker
cutler	glassinwricht (glazier)
master smith	painter
stable clerk	master saddler
master of the cariage	averyman
6 palfreniers	royal horseshoer
hors-marshal	master hunter
keeper of buckhounds	keeper of king's hounds & attendant
sporter	furriour
master gardener - Holyrood (s.yard), gardeners - Falkland, Holyrood (n.yard), Stirling	
keeper of palace garden in Holyrood (zoo)	keeper of lions (a German)
armourer	lorimer
master wright	master melter
2 advocates	clerk register
comptroller with clerk & depute	justice clerk
justice depute	king's secretary & depute
treasurer & depute	

¹² see Appendix 1.

Queen's Household:

2 master households (with servant and page)

3 master stablers

gentleman servants - server, cupbearer, carver (& 2 others)

gentlemen of the chamber - 5 gentlemen of the chamber & two servants

secretary

'duty' (Danish) minister & two servants

marshal

master usher

page of honour

2 'duty' pages & 4 'steady' pages

usher of the chamber

usher before her majesties meat

servant to the dames' table

servant to the master household's table

treasurer's deputy

clerk of expenses deputy

Captain Arnot (of household servants)

servant to the 'strangeris' (Danes)

master tailor & 3 servants

valet in the wardrobe

vessel man / keeper of the hall

2 lackeys, 3 firemen

master cook with 4 servants and a turnbroche

gentlewomen in the chamber- 11 gentlewomen & their servants:

Lady Ochiltree & 3 servants

Lady Lindores & 2 servants

Mistress Beatrice Ruthven & 3 servants

Roger Aston's wife & servant

Mistress Margaret Stewart & servant

Janet Stewart & servant

Marie Carmichael & servant

Anna Kerr & servant

Elisabeth Shaw & servant

Christine Ruthven & servant

Laird of Kirkinshew's daughter & servant

3 women in the chamber (including 2 laundresses)

Queen's servitors receiving payment c.1596 but not included on list¹³:

chamberlain

clerk of accounts

master of the wardrobe

lackey to the gentlewomen

master embroiderer

master glover

furrier

goldsmith

apothecary

master of the carriage

surgeon

tapisier

queen's maiden

pastry chef

¹³ see Appendix 1.

Appendix 3: Dining Arrangements
(Order of Household Members Served at Tables)

Household, November 1582¹

(Those people that should be daily resident, hereafter especially expressed and divided at tables, having estimated the [amounts] of every table and in common to the hall)

Master Household's (2) Table(s)
master household, master stabler, master usher
master of the wardrobe, master of requests
clerk of expenses, 4 gentlemen of chamber
usher at outer chamber door, usher at inner door
mediciner, armourer, surgeon

To eat dinner & supper BEFORE the king

King's Table



The Gentlemen Servants' Table
server, cupbearer, carver
usher at outer chamber door
master almoner
usher before the king's meat

To eat AFTER the king, upon his leftovers

The Pages' Table

To eat AFTER the king

¹ SRO, Household Accounts, E.34/36.

The Valets of the Chamber's Table

4 valets of the king's chamber
2 ushers of king's inner chamber door
valet of the wardrobe
tailor of the wardrobe

To eat AT THE SAME TIME as the king

The Officers' of the House Table

master of wine cellar, master of pantry,
master of ale cellar, master cook in king's kitchen
master cook in court kitchen, writer of accounts
baker/pastry chef, keeper of great larder
keeper of petite larder, caterer
master of spice house, keeper of silver vessels
keeper of tin vessels, coal man, tapisier

To eat AFTER the king

The Violders' Table

No designated dining time

The Porters' Table

No designated dining time

Household, February 1591²

King's Table

bread – 12½ bolls, wine – 1 gallon 1 quart, ale – 1 gallon 2 quarts, beef – 2 pieces, boiled mutton – 2 pieces, roasted mutton – 2 pieces, great veal – 3 pieces, capons – 2, poultry – 2, chickens – 6, lamb – 2 quarters, wild game – 4 pieces -- making, in total, 7 or 8 dishes, as the season will yield, at the discretion of the master household



Gentlemen Servants' Table
master almoner
server
cupbearer
carver

The king's leftovers PLUS: bread – 5 bolls, wine – 1 quart, ale – 2 quarts 1 pint



To serve the Gentlemen Servants:
2nd aide in wine cellar, foreman in kitchen
2nd aide in pantry, aide in ale cellar
keeper of the vessel house

The gentlemen servants' leftovers PLUS: bread – 5 bolls, ale – 2 quarts 1 pint

² SRO, Household Accounts, E.34/41; E.34/42/1; *Papers*, Appendix III. There is a similar document for December 1591, it does not state who sits at the higher tables although it does list the names of those for say the valets of the chamber's table, the pages' table, the officers' table, etc., and the names of those who ate the leftovers. Neither does it give food amounts (E.34/42).

Duke of Lennox & Master Household

Lord Spynie, Sir James Sandilands
Sir George Home, master stabler, mediciner
master of work, master hunter, Roger Aston
comptroller clerk, clerk of expenses

bread – 12 bolls, wine – 3 quarts, ale – 1 gallon 2 quarts, beef – 2, boiled fowl – 2, boiled chicken – 4, boiled veal or mutton – 4 pieces, roasted veal – 4 pieces, mutton – 4 pieces, capons – 2, poultry – 2, chickens – 4, lambs – 4, red grouse – 2; on the fish day, 18 or 20 dishes at every meal, at the master of household’s discretion



To serve the duke and master household:

marshal, master household’s doorkeeper,
pastry chef, 1st aide in pantry, master cook,
1st aide in wine cellar, 1st aide in ale cellar
master household’s usher & page,
Duke of Lennox’s page

The duke’s and master household’s leftovers PLUS: bread – 10 bolls, ale – 1 gallon 1 quart

King’s Valets & Usher

2 valets of chamber, usher, valet of wardrobe
tailor of wardrobe, page of honour,
4 pages in chamber, surgeon
Mr John Geddie

bread – 11 bolls, ale – 1 gallon 1 quart 1 pint, beef – 2 pieces, boiled mutton – 4 pieces,
roasted veal – 4 pieces, roasted lamb – 4 pieces, poultry or doves – 4 dishes;
on the fish days 8 dishes first and 10 last.



To serve the valets and ushers:

aide in court kitchen, 2 dighters/grooms,
aide in larder, aide of tin vessels
fireman

The valets’ and usher’s leftovers PLUS: bread – 6 bolls, ale – 4 quarts

Officers of the King's House

master of wine cellar, keeper of vessel house,
master of pantry, master of spice house,
master of ale cellar, tapestry keeper, master cook
court cook, outer door usher, keeper of petite larder,
master household's servant, king's baker,
master of great larder, caterer
clerk of accounts & his servant

bread – 16 bolls, ale – 2 gallons, beef – 2 pieces, 2 pieces of boiled mutton at noon, 3 pieces of
boiled mutton in the evening, 16 roasts in the day – at the master of household's discretion
on the fish day 12 dishes first, and 17 dishes last



To serve the officers of the house:

porter in king's kitchen, porter in court kitchen.
tapestry aide, aide of the tin vessels,
2 dicthers of the closes

The officers of the house's leftovers PLUS: bread – 6 bolls, ale – 3 quarts

King's Pages of the Stables

4 pages in the stable
master/lecturer of the pages
servant to the pages

bread – 6 bolls, ale – 3 quarts, beef – 1 piece, boiled mutton – 2, roasted mutton - 4
On the fish day, 5 dishes first and 6 dishes at the last meal

Porters' Table

king's master porter
his 3 aides

bread – 6 bolls, wine – 1 pint, ale – 1 gallon, beef at noon – 1 piece, mutton – 2 pieces,
roasts – 6; On the fish day, 5 dishes first and 6 dishes at the last meal
[the above meat allowances increased by warrant]

King's English Violers' Table

Thomas Hudson, James Hudson
Robert Hudson, William Hudson
their servant

bread – 5 bolls, wine – 1 quart, ale – 2 quarts 1 pint; beef – 2 pieces, roasts of veal, mutton & fowl – 6, boiled mutton – 2 pieces; On the fish day, 6 dishes first and 6 dishes at the last meal

The Queen's Table

bread – 7 bolls, wine – 2 quarts 1 pint, ale – 1 gallon 1 quart, beef (when there is no fish) – a quarter (12 pieces), beef (when there is fish) – a half quarter (6 pieces), mutton – a side (5 pieces), boiled veal – 1, capons – 2, chickens – 8 (or 4 poultry), lambs – 2, doves – 9, eggs – 100, ox tongues – 2, apples – 40, pigs – 1, geese – 1, wild game in season – 7 pieces



First Table in Queen's Master Household's Hall

master household, gentleman of her chamber,
master stabler, server, cupbearer, carver,
preacher, secretary, usher, tailor

The queen's leftovers PLUS: bread – 10 bolls, wine – 2 quarts, ale – 1 gallon 1 quart



To serve master household's table:

queen's 4 pages
queen's 3 lackeys
the Moor
usher before the queen's meat

The master household's hall table's leftovers PLUS: bread – 9 bolls, ale – 1 gallon 1 pint

Queen's Ladies & Gentlewomen

Katherine Skinkell, Elspeth Gibb,
Sofie Koss, Marie Stewart,
Mistress of Ochiltree, Martha Stewart,
Sir George Home's wife, Janet Stewart

bread – 8 bolls, wine – 1 quart, ale – 1 gallon, beef – 2 pieces, poultry – 4, mutton – 12 pieces, veal – 4, capons – 2, chicken or doves, in place of the other, according to the season



To serve queen's ladies' table:

Mistress of Ochiltree's serving man
Mistress of Ochiltree's serving woman
Sir George Home's wife's serving woman
Mistress of Ochiltree's page
a laundress to them

The queen's ladies & gentlewomen's leftovers PLUS: bread – 5 bolls, ale – 2 quarts 1 pint



4 serving women in queen's chamber
2 biggers-on of the fires
Hans, who waits on the laundresses

The queen's ladies & gentlewomen's leftovers PLUS: bread – 7 bolls, ale – 3 quarts 1 pint

2nd Table in Queen's Master Household's Hall

master household's servant & page, goldsmith,
2 servants to cupbearer, 2 servants to carver,
goldsmith, furrier, 3 servants/boys to preacher,
secretary's servant, tailor's servant & 2 boys

bread – 15 bolls, ale – 1 gallon 3 quarts 1 pint, beef – 3 pieces, roasted mutton – 8 pieces, roasted veal – 4 pieces, boiled mutton – 6 pieces, roasted fowl – 2

Queen's Master Cook, Hans

his servant
his 3 boys
2 turnbroches
kitchen porter

bread – 8 bolls, ale – 2 gallons (AND queen's 2nd table's leftovers)

New Tables after Prince Henry's birth (1594)³

(The tables recently erected since the prince's birth, served from the court kitchen)

The Dames of Honours' Table

(erected 19 February 1594)

elder Lady Mar, younger Lady Mar
Lady Morton, Lady Dudhope, Lady Clackmannan
Lady Abercairny, Lady Cambuskenneth
the late justice clerk's wife

bread, ale, wine (dinner & supper)

meat: flesh day – 1st meal: 1 piece beef, 2 pieces boiled mutton, 1 boiled fowl, 6 dishes
pottage; 2nd meal: 12 dishes roasts at the master household's direction

meat: fish day – 1st meal: 12 dishes (prunes, rice, butter, eggs, fried *toists*, milk & bread,
spelkit peas, oysters, green cabbage, and failing one sort to be supplied with another)

2nd meal: 8 dishes as the season yields

and to their dessert – eggs, raisins, sweets and apples – 8 dishes



To serve the dames of honours' table:

prince's marshal, prince's usher & his aide,
2 servants to old Lady Mar
1 servant to young Lady Mar, 1 of the pantry
1 of the wine cellar, 1 of the ale cellar
4 servers to bear their meat

The dames of honours' leftovers PLUS: bread – 13, ale – 1 gallon 2 quarts 1 pint

Their breakfasts: 1 piece beef, 1 piece mutton, 1 dish of *collopis*;

bread – 3 bolls, ale – 1 quart 1 pint, wine – 1 pint

³ SRO, Mar & Kellie Muniments, GD.124/10/67/1.

Mistress Nurse's Table

(erected 19 February 1594)

mistress nurse, 4 rockers
keeper of prince's coffer & claiths
prince's seamstress

Flesh days – 1st meal: 1 piece beef, 1 boiled fowl, 1 piece boiled mutton, 4 dishes pottage
2nd meal: 3 pieces roasts at the master household's discretion; bread – 7 bolls, ale – 1 gallon
Their breakfast: 1 piece beef, 1 piece mutton, bread – 3 bolls, ale – 1 quart
afternoon & collation: 2 quarts ale

Doctors' and Mediciners' Table

(erected 10 February 1594)

Dr Martin Schoner, Mr Gilbert Moncrieff
Gilbert Primrose (surgeon)
Alexander Barclay (apothecary)
their 4 servants

breakfast: 1 piece beef, 1 piece mutton, bread – 2 bolls, ale – 1 quart, wine – 1 pint;
dinner & supper: bread – 8 bolls; 1st meal: 1 piece beef, 1 piece mutton, 1 boiled fowl,
4 dishes pottage; 2nd meal: 4 pieces roasts by discretion of the master household
dinner, supper & collation: wine – 2 quarts 1 pint, ale – 1 gallon

Midwife's Table

(erected 8 February 1594)

the midwife
her two *femmeris*

breakfast: 1 piece beef, 1 piece mutton, bread – 2 bolls, ale – 1 quart, wine – 1 pint
dinner & supper: 6 pieces meat, ale – 3 quarts 1 pint, bread – 3 bolls
collation: 1 quart ale

Appendix 4: Royal Itinerary / Household Books

King James VI (1 November 1597 - 31 October 1598)¹⁷

[average cost per day with king and entourage in residence: £35 - £60]

Master Household: Sir Michael Elphinstone

1 November 1597 (Tuesday) - Dunfermline (breakfast), Linlithgow (dinner)

2 November - Linlithgow (breakfast), Carniehall (supper)

5 - 14 November - Dumfries

Sample of a day's food intake (7 November):

117 bolls¹⁸ bread, 12 gallons and a quart ale, 1 gallon and 2 quarts wine, 3 hens, 5 poultry, 4 *woderkis*, 3 *perlrikis*, 2 geese, 4 chickens, 1 peck¹⁹ salt, 2 capons, barley herbs, 1 quarter cow beef, 1 great veal, 5¾ mutton, 1 pound sweet sheep breads, more sweetmeats, 34 loads half-peat, 3 candles (prickets), 12¾ pounds wax, 4 pounds butter, butter, milk, eggs, 1 chopin²⁰ vinegar; spent 10 pieces beef, 21 pieces veal, 5¾ mutton - £27 9s 2d²¹

----- accounts missing -----

Master Household: Andrew Melville of Garvok

5 January 1598 (Thursday) - Tullibardine (all day)

A number of the king's train (entourage) at Stirling upon wages

6 January - Tullibardine (king departed after dinner), Stirling (supper)

7 & 8 January - Stirling (all day)

9 January - Stirling (dinner), Linlithgow (supper)

10 January - Linlithgow (king departed after dinner), Holyroodhouse (supper)

11 January - 3 February - Holyroodhouse

4 February - Holyroodhouse (breakfast, dinner); Linlithgow (supper)

total for food: £47 4s

5 February - Stirling (supper), Linlithgow (dinner); king's entourage at

Holyroodhouse - total for food: £29 9s

6 & 7 February - Stirling; part of king's household at Holyroodhouse

daily total for food: £9 6d (6 February)

8 February - Stirling (dinner); Linlithgow (supper); part of household at Holyroodhouse

¹⁷ NAS, E31/15 (Royal Household Books).

¹⁸ Boll = 6 imperial bushels (of grain): *The Chamber's Dictionary* (Edinburgh, 1998), 179.

¹⁹ Peck = 2 gallons (dry goods) or a quarter of a bushel: *Chamber's*, 1200.

²⁰ Chopin = (approximately) 1 English quart: *Chamber's*, 291. A chopin would appear to be less than a Scottish pint.

²¹ For more information on food see: A.J.S. Gibson & T.C. Smout, 'Food and Hierarchy in Scotland, 1550-1650', in L. Leneman (ed.), *Perspectives in Scottish Social History: essays in honour of Rosalind Mitchison* (Aberdeen, 1988), 33-52; Gibson & Smout, *Prices, food and wages in Scotland 1550-1780* (Cambridge, 1995); M. Toussaint-Samat, *History of Food*, translated by A. Bell (New York, 1998); M.P. Cosman, *Fabulous Feasts: Medieval Cookery and Ceremony* (New York, 1976).

9 February - Linlithgow (breakfast and dinner); Holyroodhouse (supper)
108 bolls bread, 14 gallons 3 quarts ale; 1 gallon 3 quarts wine; 2 quarts coft
wine - total for food: £49 2*d*

10 - last day of February 1598 - Holyroodhouse

February 1597 - February 1598: £400 to the master of the pantry for table linens to the
king's table and the rest of the tables in the king's house

Master Household: Sir Michael Elphinstone

1 - 3 March 1598 - Holyroodhouse

4 March - Holyroodhouse (breakfast, dinner), Burntisland (supper)

5 March - Burntisland (breakfast, dinner), Falkland (supper)

6 March - Falkland (breakfast), Dundee (dinner, supper)

7 - 14 March - Dundee

15 March - Dundee (breakfast, dinner), Falkland (supper)

16 March - Falkland (breakfast, dinner), Holyroodhouse (supper)

17 March - Holyroodhouse

18 March (Saturday) - Holyroodhouse

Hunting day: the duke of Holstein dined with the king in Dalmahoy

Sample menu for visiting guests:

132 bolls bread, 17 gallons ale, 4 gallons 2 quarts and a pint wine, 1 young veal, 2
capons, 6 hens, 4 poultry, 3 inner fowls, 2 partridges, 2 chickens, 2 pounds fresh
butter, 3 'quarters' of eggs, barley milk, ½ boll salt, ½ quarter cow beef, 1 quarter
great veal, 1 mutton, 1 tongue, 2 fresh cod (*killing*), 1 middling fresh salmon, 2 dozen
burn-trout, 1 basket (*corf*) of cod, 2 small lump-fish (*paidles*), 3 dozen small flounder
(*fleuks*), 2 dozen oysters, sweetmeats, 13 loads half-coals, 4 candles, 11 pounds butter,
13 pounds wax, 2 pounds damson plums, 1 pound rice, butter, milk, eggs, 1 pint
vinegar - £45 19*s*

19 - 31 March 1598 - Holyroodhouse

23 March - the king and duke of Holstein rode to hunting and dined in
Riccarton

March expenditures - 412 gallons 3 quarts 1 pint 1 chopin ale; 1 gallon 1 pint sack
wine; 99 gallons 3 quarts 1 pint Bordeaux wine; £141 13*s* 8*d* to James Schaw for the
king's boat freight, coming and going, at Burntisland, Kinghorn, Queensferry, Dundee
ferry, for hiring a vessel in Dundee and for house, meal and drinksilver where his
majesty lodged there; £17 13*s* 4*d* to Robert Brown for transporting wine from Leith to
Holyroodhouse and for glass bottles, and to the clerk for enlarging a kitchen to the
court.

1 April 1598 - Holyroodhouse (breakfast, dinner), Linlithgow (supper)

2 - 3 April - Linlithgow

4 April - Linlithgow (breakfast), Stirling (supper)

5 - 10 April - Stirling

9 April (Sunday) – Stirling: King dined and supped upon the earl of Mar's expenses; his entourage upon the king's own expenses

11 April - Stirling (breakfast, dinner), Linlithgow (supper)

12 April - Linlithgow (dinner: upon Lord Livingston's expenses), Holyroodhouse (supper: upon king's own expenses)

13 - 29 April - Holyroodhouse

15 April (Saturday): King at hunting

18 April (Tuesday): King dined in Dalmahoy

19 April (Wednesday): hunting day

26 April (Wednesday): hunting day

30 April 1598 (Sunday) - Holyroodhouse

King made the banquet to the duke of Holstein:

238 bolls bread, 47 gallons ale, 17 gallons 1 quart 1 pint wine, 1 pint sack wine, 12 gallons London beer, 6 and 2 quarters veal, 5 kids, 5 black cocks, 1 whiting, 1 capon, 3 partridges, 44 chickens, 8 *pleneris*, 8 hens, 8 young veal, 5 goose, 2 young hares, 2 hams, 1 dozen eggs, 4 pounds fresh butter, beir mustard, ½ boll salt, 2 great veal and 2 quarters, 1 mutton and 3 quarters, 8 lungs 3 *gang* oxfat, 1 side of a swine, sweetmeats, 1½ pounds pepper, ¾ pound ginger, 2 ounces mace, 3 ounces cinnamon, 5 ounces cloves, 1 pound capers, 3 pounds samphire (*paspie*), 60 oranges, 1 dozen apples, 1 pound rice, 4 pounds damson plums, 3 pound *segs*, 2 pounds small raisins, 3 pounds large raisins, 1½ ounces saffron, 3 pounds dry almonds, 4 pounds sugar, 6 pints vinegar, 6 pounds cheese, 1 peck white peas, 2 ounce *mittingis*, 1 pint olive oil, 2 ells draught cloths, 12 earthenware pots, 1 quire²² of paper, 3 hanks string, 3 pounds lard, 1 pound capers, 28 candles, 24 torches, 1 stone salted butter, 17 loads coals.

Additional supplies: from the laird of Traquair - 8 kids, 15 red grouse, 2 black cocks, a ray and a quarter and 23 capons; from the laird of Dundas - a *fed up strekin* to 40 piece; from the laird Innerleith - 17 pair doves; from the laird of Waughton - 4 geese and 10 lambs; from the laird of Craigyhall - a peacock and a peahen.

Extra expenses: £115 2s 2d - to Robert Brown for furnishing linens to clean and silver work and to those that brought presents to the banquet, for the fashioning of 8 quart flagons and 4 pint flagons, for 12 pound weight of pewter to mend the flagons, to William Baxter for hiring vessels to the banquets

²² Four sheets of parchment folded together to make eight leaves: *Chamber's*, 1356.

1 - 31 May 1598 - Holyroodhouse

6 May (Saturday): hunting day, 'his majestie dynit nocht'

12 May (Friday): after breakfast the king and duke of Holstein departed from Holyroodhouse for dinner at Newbattle, they returned to Holyroodhouse for supper

15 May (Monday): after breakfast the king travelled to Straiton, he returned to Holyroodhouse for supper

19 May (Friday): the king and duke of Holstein at hunting

22 May (Monday): the king drank all night with the duke of Holstein

23 May (Tuesday): the king supped with the duke of Lennox

25 May (Thursday): the king made another banquet to the duke of Holstein [not as elaborate as that of 30 April, but still had cost of £208 5s 6d]

Expenditures for May 1598: £1587 4s 9d, 448 gallons ale, 128 gallons 3 quarts wine, uncertain amount of Bordeaux wine sent with the duke of Holstein when he departed for Denmark, £14 4s 4d to John Rannald, pastry chef, for baking of venison and cabbage to the king's banquets

Master Household: Andrew Melville of Garvok

1 June - 2 July 1598 - Holyroodhouse

8 June (Thursday): king caused certain Dutchmen [Danes] to be taken to the wine cellar to drink

18 June (Sunday): king rode to Dalkeith for supper

19 June (Monday): king hawking, he dined in Dalkeith and supped in Crichton

20 June (Tuesday): king dined in Crichton, supped in Holyroodhouse

26-30 June: convention

3 July - Holyroodhouse (breakfast, dinner), Linlithgow (supper)

4 - 5 July - Linlithgow

[no entry for 6 July, account shows 'Wednesday 5 July', 'Thursday 7 July']

7 July - Linlithgow (breakfast), Callender (dinner), Stirling (supper)

8 - 10 July - Stirling

11 July - Stirling (breakfast, dinner), Falkland (supper)

12 - 19 July - Falkland

20 July - Falkland (departed after dinner), Holyroodhouse (supper - queen was present)

21 - 23 July - Holyroodhouse

24 July - Holyroodhouse (breakfast, dinner), Falkland (supper)

25 July - 13 August - Falkland

8-10 August: convention

11 August: hunting day

14 August - Falkland (breakfast, dinner), Dalkeith (supper)

15 - 16 August - Dalkeith

15 August (Tuesday): hunting day

17 August - Dalkeith (breakfast), Linlithgow (supper - upon Lord Livingston's expenses)

18 August - Linlithgow (breakfast), Stirling (supper)

19 & 20 August : Stirling

21 August - Stirling (breakfast, dinner), Dumbarton (supper)

22 August - Dumbarton (breakfast), Inchmurren (supper)

23 August - Inchmurren (breakfast), Dumbarton (supper)

24 - 27 August - Dumbarton

24 August (Thursday): king dined in the castle

28 August - Dumbarton (dinner), Glasgow (supper upon the Lord Treasurer's expenses), his entourage was left in Dumbarton

-----29 -31 August 1598 accounts missing-----

Master Household: Sir Michael Elphinstone

1 September 1598 - Hamilton, king's entourage in Glasgow

2 September - Hamilton (breakfast, dinner), Glasgow (supper)

3 September - Glasgow

4 September - Glasgow (breakfast), rode to Sorne to the duke of Lennox's bridal

5 September - Sorne (king at duke of Lennox's banquet), his entourage in Glasgow

6 September - Sorne (breakfast), Glasgow (dinner, supper)

7 September - Glasgow

8 September - Glasgow (breakfast, dinner), Stirling (supper)

9 & 10 September - Stirling

11 September - Stirling (breakfast), Donnypace (dinner), Linlithgow (supper)

12 September - Linlithgow (breakfast, dinner), Dalkeith (supper)

13 - 20 September - Dalkeith

18 September (Monday): hunting day

21 September - Dalkeith (at 4am, after breakfast, the king left Dalkeith and rode to Fife - the queen at Dalkeith for the time)

22 September - Falkland, king's entourage at Dalkeith

23 September - the king came from Falkland to Dalkeith at night

24 - 30 September - Dalkeith

September 1598 - £26 13s 4d to Thomas Fenton for the entertainment made by him upon two wolves, £9 16s 8d to George Strachan for transporting tapestry out of Falkland to Dalkeith

1 October 1598 - Dalkeith
2 October - Dalkeith (breakfast), Holyroodhouse (supper)
3 October - Holyroodhouse (breakfast), Linlithgow (supper)
4 - 8 October - Linlithgow
9 October - Linlithgow (breakfast), Stirling (supper)
10 - 11 October - Stirling
12 October - Stirling (breakfast), Linlithgow (dinner, supper)
13 - 15 October - Linlithgow
16 October - the king came from Linlithgow to supper at Dalkeith
17 - 23 October - Dalkeith
24 October - Dalkeith (breakfast), Barnton (supper, upon Lord Secretary's expenses), king's entourage in Dalkeith
25 October - Barnton (upon Lord Secretary's expenses), entourage in Dalkeith
26 - 28 October - missing
29 - 30 October - Holyroodhouse
31 October - Holyroodhouse (breakfast), Dalkeith (supper)

Queen Anna of Denmark (April 1598 - 31 October 1598)²³
[average daily cost of household £40 - £60]

Master Household: Sir John Anstruther

5 - 30 April 1598 - Holyroodhouse

28 April (Friday): queen's minister, called Hairy Hans, was 'invyt' upon one woman of her chamber called Little Anna - day's expenses include 9 gallons 'Dutch beir', with the day's expenditures reaching £260 6s 7d

30 April (Sunday) - Holyroodhouse, banquet for duke of Holstein

Banquet - 119 bolls bread, 15 gallons 2 quarts ale, 3 gallons wine, 1 young veal 2 quarters, 2 kids, 4 hens, 1 red grouse, 4 hen poultry, 1 partridge, 2 suckling pigs, 1 wild goose, 1 ham, 60 eggs, beer and milk, 1 great veal 1 and a half quarter, sweet meat, 14 pounds sugar, 1 pound 1 ounce pepper, 2 pounds 2 ounces ginger, 10 ounces cloves, 11 ounces cinnamon, 7 ounces mace, 4¼ ounces saffron, 6 pounds almonds, 1 dozen oranges, 14 pounds damson plums, 9 pounds small raisins, 10 pounds large raisins, 1 pound rice, 5 quires of paper, 8 pounds figs, 5 pounds rice, 1 stone lard, 1 pint olive oil, - sum of day's food: £110 12s 4d (but no 'Dutch beir')

April 1598: to Thomas Burnet for cinnamon, sugar, oranges, saffron, fresh butter and eggs to the queen - £31 6s 8d

Accounts missing from 1 May to 24 May 1598 - queen likely at Holyroodhouse

²³ NAS, E.31/16 (Royal Household Books).

25 May (Thursday): Holyroodhouse, Banquet Day

Banquet - 119 bolls bread, 12 gallons 2 quarts ale, 2 gallons 1 quart 1 pint wine, 3 quarts 1 pint Rhenish wine, 2 young veal, 4 hens, 10 poultry, 3 suckling pigs, 8 *pentis*, 2 dozen doves, 2 young hares, 4 *palrounes*, 2 black cocks, 16 chickens, 1 ham, 60 eggs, beir and milk, ½ quarter *egin* beef, 1 great veal and 1½ quarters, 1 mutton 2 quarters, 2 pounds suet, sugar and spices, sweetmeats, 2 pints vinegar, 1 peck groats, 2 pounds *caveris*, 5 candles, 16 loads coal, 9 pounds wax, 10 pounds salted butter - sum £82 17s

26 May - 28 July - Holyroodhouse (Rhenish wine now noted every day)

25 - 28 June: convention

11 July: queen dined and supped with the Lord President in his own house at Edinburgh, her entourage remained at Holyroodhouse

29 July - Holyroodhouse (breakfast, dinner), Dalkeith (supper) - king at Falkland

30 July - 31 October- Dalkeith

8 August (Tuesday): queen dined in Straiton, supper in Dalkeith

16 August: the ale of this day rebated for ‘evill and oirtymeous furnissing’

27 August: fasting day

Extra expenditures: June 1598- £6 to Robert Gibb for 100 oranges for the queen’s chamber to be given in at sundry times; July 1598 - £19 11s 4d to Robert Gibb for letters directed by queen to sundry parts for birch twigs to the queen’s *chamber* and for transporting wine from Holyroodhouse to Dalkeith; August 1598 - £26 13s 4d to Elizabeth Crumby, wife of Robert Abercrombie, saddler, for a pair of new cages to carry the queen’s bottles and wine, the wine cellar being destitute thereof, £8 13s 4d to John Douchall for transporting of ‘Rouce wyne’ to the queen out of Holyroodhouse to Dalkeith at sundry times, £30 to Peter Sanderson, her majesty’s master tailor, for his monthly fee, having 20s per day; September 1598 - £10 11s 8d to George Strachan for transporting of her majesty’s bed and tapestry appointed to garnish her majesty’s bed and hang her chamber at Falkland, for bringing the same back again to Holyroodhouse, for the boat freight at Kinghorn.

Queen Anna of Denmark (9 May 1599 - 12 October 1599)²⁴

9 - 31 May 1599 - Holyroodhouse

Extra expenses - May 1599: £6 to Marion Boag for washing Lady Margaret’s cloths, £3 6s to Thomas Burnett for fresh butter and sugar candies to Lady Margaret; June 1599: £43 8s 2d to Thomas Burnett for fresh butter, eggs, cinnamon, sugar, saffron, olive oil and oranges to her majesty’s chamber, £441 3s 4d to Robert Arnot for barrels to carry Rhenish wine for 13 days wages to the queen’s washers and firemen being 4

²⁴ NAS, E.31/17 (Royal Household Books).

in number left at Holyroodhouse the said space and to the servants that travelled with the queen to Stirling and for drink to the queen between Edinburgh and Linlithgow, and drink silver to those that brought strawberries to the queen in Stirling

-----1 - 20 June 1599 accounts missing-----

21 June - 19 August - Falkland

18 July (Wednesday): the ‘dames’ tower erected up this day again

19 July (Thursday): the French ambassador dined and supped with their majesties: queen’s expenses of the day - £64 15s 10d

28 July - 1 August: convention

20 August - Falkland (breakfast, dinner), Dunbog (supper), her entourage at Falkland

21 August - Dunbog (breakfast, dinner), Falkland (supper)

22 August - Falkland

23 August - Falkland (breakfast, dinner), Dunfermline (supper)

24 - 13 September - Dunfermline

14 September - Dunfermline (breakfast, dinner), Holyroodhouse (supper)

15 September - 12 October 1599 - Holyroodhouse

23 September (Sunday): king and queen supped with the French ambassador

Banquet - 106 bolls bread, 13 gallons 1 quart ale, 3 quarts wine, 1 quart Rhenish wine, 4 capons, 7 chickens, 1 wild goose, 2 tame geese, 1 partridge, 2 old hares, 1 *guhap*, 4 hens, 6 poultry, 3 suckling pigs, 12 doves, 8 large chickens, 1 quarter young veal, 2 *pleneris*, 1 pint *rame*, 1 boll salt, 3 quarters dozen eggs, beir and milk, 1 and a half quarters cow beef, 1 large veal 1 quarter, 5 mutton, 2 *voungis*, paunchings, oxfat, 2 pounds suet, sweetmeats and pastries, 1 ounce cinnamon, 1 ounce mace, 3 ounces pepper, 3 ounces ginger, 2 ounces cloves, half an ounce saffron, 2 pounds sugar, 1 ounce nutmeg, 2 pounds almonds, 2 pounds *segis*, 2 pounds oatmeal, 2 pounds small raisins, 3 pounds damson plums, 1 pound dates, 1 pound rice, 100 apples and pears, 1 barrel olives, 2 pounds fresh butter, 1 pound *caveris*, 4 pounds lard, 4 pounds cheese, 1 ham, 5 ounces *credgie* and fresh mustard, 5 candles, 16 loads coal, 10 pound 1 quarter wax, 12 pounds butter, 1 chopin vinegar

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